





# SINO-INDIAN STUDIES

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VOL. 3

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## 中 印 研 究

EDITED BY

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## On the oldest Chinese transliterations of the name of Buddha

In the year 1933 Dr. Hu Shih wrote an article entitled "On the Sūtra of the 42 Sections" (*Hu Shih lun shue kin cho*, I, 2, pp. 177-186) in the order to discuss the authenticity of the Sūtra. In this article, just at the beginning, he discussed the probable dates when the two transliterations Fou-t'u (浮屠) and Fo (佛) came to be used in China. Prof. Chen Yuan then communicated his views on the transliterations in some letters to Dr. Hu Shih. They were agreed only on one point that Fou-t'u came to be used earlier than Fo. On several other points their opinions differ specially when Prof. Chen says: "Fo is not mentioned in the historical materials of the Latter Han dynasty collected by Fan Wei-tsong" (*ibid.* p. 179). He further says—"In the decrees of and the memorials to the Emperors of the Latter Han dynasty only Fou-tu is used and not Fo. This I have told you in my last letter. A chapter on India is quoted in the commentary on the *San kuo che* by Pei Sung chih. In this chapter the word Fou-tu occurs eight times and there is no mention of Fo. Twice there is mention of *Fou-t'u-king* and not of *Fo-king*. Chen Shou uses Fou-t'u and Fo at the same time. Yuan Hung uses only Fo and explains Fou-t'u by Fo. Fan Wei-tsong retains in the decrees and memorials quoted by him the name Fou-t'u and uses Fo when he writes himself (*ibid.* p. 189).

From the study of the historical materials already mentioned Prof. Chen draws the following conclusions: (i) From the Latter Han to the middle of Wei period only Fou-t'u is used; (ii) From the period of the Three kingdoms to the beginning of the Tsin Fou-t'u and Fo are simultaneously used; (iii) From the Eastern Tsin to the Song period only Fo is used. In the light of these deductions he draws the further conclusion that the *Li-hui-lun* of Mou Tseu and all the Han translations of the Buddhist texts cannot be treated as really written and translated in the Han period (*ibid.* p. 190). Dr. Hu Shih however does not agree with the view that Fo does not occur in the historical materials of the Han period collected by Fan Wei tsong.

I propose here to discuss the problem from a quite different point of view. Dr. Hu and Prof. Chen have tried to find out the probable dates of the first use of the two forms of the name. I shall try to

trace the origin of the two forms of the name. If we can trace their origin clearly it will throw some light on the problem raised by Dr. Hu and Prof. Chen.

We know that Sākyamuni came to be known as Buddha after his attainment of Samyak Sambodhi. The word Buddha means "the illumined". In Chinese there are more than 20 different transliterations of this name: Fo-t'o, Fou-t'o, Fou-t'u, Feu-t'ou, Pu-t'o, Pu-ta, Pu-to, Pu-t'o, Mu-t'o, Mei-ta, Fo-ta, Pu-t'a, Fou-t'u, Fu-tou, Mu-ta, Fo-t'u, Fo, Pu-t'o, Wu-t'a, Pu-t'o, Mei-t'o etc.\*

I will confine my discussion to the four oldest of these transliterations namely: Fou-t'u, Fou-t'u, Fu-tou and Fo. The first three belong to the same group each consisting of two words while the fourth belong to a different group of only one word.

Let us consider the first group. The ancient pronunciation of the words occurring in this group according to the reconstruction of Karlgren are the following (*Grammata Serica*, reprinted from the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, no. 12, 1940):

浮 \*b'iôg/b'ïau/fou (449, 1233l)

屠 \*d'o/d'uo/t'u (136-137, 45 i')

圖 \*d'o/d'uo/t'u (143-144, 63a)

復 \*b'iôk/b'ïuk/fu (398, 1034d)

豆 \*d'u/d'ü/tou (158, 118a)

The final vowel in both Fou-t'u and Fou-t'u was in ancient pronunciation —o—, it became later —u ; Fu-tou had a final —u— in ancient times. None of them correspond to Sanskrit *Buddha*. In Sanskrit *Buddha* becomes *Buddho* only in the nominative case when the following word begins with a sonant or with the vowel —a—. But I do not believe that Chinese Fou-t'u and Fou-t'u came from the nominative *Buddho*. In Prakrit and Pali the nominative of *Buddha* is *Buddho*. In Ardha-Māgadhī and Māgadhī, the masculine bases in —a— have —e— in the nominative, but in Ardha-Māgadhī verses it is sometimes found with an ending in -o.

\* 佛 陀 浮 頭 部 多 沒 馱 浮 屠 佛 圖 物 他  
 浮 陀 勃 陀 部 陀 佛 馱 復 豆 佛 替 陀  
 浮 圖 勃 馱 母 陀 步 他 母 馱 步 陀 沒 陀

But we have not sufficient materials to say from which Prakrit Fou-t'u and Fou-t'u came. We are however justified in assuming that they were based on some Prakrit forms.

As to Fu-tou the problem is somewhat complicated. Since the old pronunciation, according to Karlgren, was b'iuk-d'gu, the corresponding Indian form would be \*bukdu or \*rukdu. But this form is not found either in old texts or inscriptions. The final -u- reminds us of Apabhraṃśa because in Apabhraṃśa the masculine -a-bases have -u- in nominative and accusative. But in spite of the -u- it does not seem to have been an Apabhraṃśa form. In the North-Western dialect of India the ending -u- is common, even the accusative ending of Sanskrit -am and Prakrit -aṃ become at times -u- (cf. my article- Die Umwandlung der Endung -am in -o und -u im Mittelindischen, Nachrichten Ak. Wiss. Göttingen, Philo-Hist. Kl. 1944, nr. 6). The name Fu-tou most probably comes from this Prakrit.

Let us now discuss the form Fo. Karlgren reconstructs the old pronunciation as b'iwet/b'iuet/fu (*Grammata Serica* 252, 500 l). Usually the word Fo is considered to be an abridgement of the word Fo-t'o. In the *Tsong lin lun shu ki* it is said "Fo-t'o is a Sanskrit word; in Chinese it means kio-che 'the awakened'; we follow the old abridgement and call it Fo." In the Buddhist dictionaries we find the same explanation of Fo (Cf. '*Bukkyo daijiten*', p. 155, 1a). This seems to have been the explanation as established by tradition. The explanation seems to be reasonable at the first sight for in Chinese such abridgements are common.

But if we go deeper into the problem then we find that such an explanation is unsatisfactory. A study of loan words in other languages points out to a common rule. When a word is introduced from another language it retains mostly the original form at the beginning. It then does not get mixed up with the native words. Gradually it changes its original form and is mixed up with the native words. The name of Buddha came to China with Buddhism from India. When it first came to China the translators would surely retain the original form of the name. They would not use an abbreviation from the beginning. Moreover the name of Buddha was a sacred name for the Buddhists. They would not venture to alter it.

Under these circumstances it is more reasonable to assume that the word Fo is not at abridgement. There is further evidence to



confirm it. I have collected all the transliterations in the translations of the Latter Han period and of the period of the Three Kingdoms. Some of the transliterations formerly considered to be abridgements do not appear to me to be so. The words in transliterations used to be formerly compared with original Sanskrit words as it was believed that the texts had been translated from Sanskrit original. As the transliterations were found not corresponding with the Sanskrit they were explained as abbreviations. Even Hiuan-tsang in his *Ta t'ang si yu ki* makes that mistake. We now know that most of the oldest Buddhist translations were not based on Sanskrit. So the old transliterations should not be compared with Sanskrit forms. As I propose to deal with the problem in another article I will confine my attention here to the discussion of the word Fo.

The Sanskrit word for Fo, we have seen, is Buddha. The word Buddha becomes in Tokharian A *ptāṅkat* and is written in different ways such as: *ptāṅkat*, *ptāṅkte*, *ptāmṅkte*, *ptāṅakte*, *ptāṅākte*, *ptāṅikte*, *ptāṅṅakte*, *pattāṅakte*, *pattāṅṅakte*, *pattāṅkte*, *pattāmṅkte*, *pattāmṅkte* (cf. Sieg, Siegling, Schulze *Tocharische Grammatik*, § 76, 116, 122a, 123, 152b, 192, 206, 207, 363c). The word *ptāṅkat* is a combination of two words *ptā* and *ṅkat*. *Ptā* corresponds to Sanskrit Buddha. In Tokharian the sonants are rare. Therefore the initial -b- changes into -p-. The second part -ṅkat means "god" and thus stands for Sanskrit -deva. The word *ptāṅkat* therefore may be translated as Fo-t'ien i. e. Buddhadeva. In Tokharian A the Sanskrit word Buddha is always translated as *ptāṅkat*. In the Chinese Tripitaka we find the terms *t'ien chong wang* (天中王) in the translation of the *Saddharmapundarika* where they stand for Sanskrit *devātideva*. Cf. the Sanskrit text, ed. Kern. Nanjio, p. 169, lx12-13:

namo 'stu te apratimā maharṣe devātideva kalaviṅkasusvarā/  
vināyakā lokaśadevakasminvandāmi te lokahitānukampī//

But the term Fo-t'ien is never found in the Chinese Buddhist texts. Neither is the term 'Buddhadeva' found in Sanskrit texts. From which source did then the Tokharian borrow this word? This question cannot be answered now. A similar term is found in the Uigur translations of the Buddhist texts. Cf. the Uigur translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (Müller, *Uigurica*, A. K. P. A. W., 1908, p. 28ff. *Uigurica* II, 1911, p. 16): *tngrī tngriśi burxan* "Buddha, the god of gods". A comparison of the Uigur and

Tokharian names of Buddha shows either that the former was derived from the latter or that both go back to the same origin which might probably have been Iranian.

In the compound ptāñkāt the first part seems to be ptā, but in fact it is not quite so. In the Tokharian A when two words are compounded an —a— is inserted after the first part if it does not end in an —a. Cf. atrā + tampe = atra-tampe kāsū + ortum = kāswaortum, kälpa + pälskām = kälpa-pälskām, pār + krase = pār-ra-krase, pälsäk + päse = pälska-päse, prākär + pratim = prākra-pratim, brähman + purohitum = brähma-purohitum, spät + koñ = šäptakoñi (*Tocharische Grammatik*, §363a). The —a— may be sometimes lengthened as in wäs + yok = wsä-yok, wäl + ñkät = wlä-ñkät (ibid 363 c). From these examples we can infer that ptā was originally pät. The word pät is clearly preserved in the compound pättañkät which is another form of ptāñkät. In the manuscripts we have not yet found an independent pät. But its existence cannot be doubted. It may be further assumed that the vowel —ä— stands here for an older —u—.

The hypothesis that the vowel -ä stands for an older —u— can be proved from Kuchean. The corresponding word for Tokharian ptāñkät in Kuchean is pūdñakte pudñakte, pudñikte (cf. Lévi, *Fragments des textes Koutcheens*, Paris, 1933, p. 139). The word may be analysed with certainty as pūd/pud + ñakte. Pūd/pud corresponds with Tokharian pät. In some respects the Kuchean is older than Tokharian. Therefore the change from pūd/pud to pät/ptā is quite natural.

So far we have indulged in a digression from our main point. It may be however shown that Sanskrit Buddha becomes in Kuchean Pūd/Pud and in Tokharian Pät and that the Chinese Fo is a transliteration from Kuchean. Thus Fo is not an abridgement of Fo-t'o as hitherto believed. In the texts of the Latter Han and the Three kingdoms it is the word Fo which is used first. Fo-t'o is not yet mentioned. Therefore we should say that Fo-t'o is a later lengthening of Fo and not that Fo is an abridgement.

The hypothesis however raises an important question. The old pronunciation of Fo starts with a sonant 'But'. In Kuchean Pūd/pud it is a surd. Why do the Chinese Buddhist texts render a surd by a sonant? Unless this question is satisfactorily answered our hypothesis cannot become a proof. It might be argued that Chinese Fo is not based on the Kuchean but on some other Central Asian

form. In Sogdian Sanskrit Buddha is rendered as pwty pwty (Gauthiot, *Le Sūtra du religieux Ongles-Longs*, p. 3). In older Khotanese the word is balya for 'Buddha Bhagavat'. In later Khotanese it is baysa, beysa, biysa (Sten Konow—*Saka Studies*, Oslo Etnografiske Museum Bulletin, 5, p. 121, Hoernle—*Manuscript Remains...*, I pp. 239, 242). In Uigur 'Burxan' is the common translation of Sanskrit Buddha. But in the Uigur translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra* (Müller, *Uigurica* p. 11) we find 'namo bud...namo drm...namo sang' which correspond to Sanskrit 'namo buddhāya...namo dharmāya...namo saṅghāya.' In this Uigur translation we find the words *taising* and *sivsing* which are really Chinese *ta cheng* and *hsiao cheng*. The occurrence of these words shows that the text was translated from Chinese. But the line 'namo bud...etc.', comes directly from Indian source. Why the Sanskrit word becomes *Bud* in Uigur cannot be explained. Anyhow the Uigur *Bud* might be the source of Chinese Fo if there had not been a chronological difficulty. The Uigur translation is not older than the T'ang period but Fo goes back to the Han. Fo therefore could not have been derived from Uigur.

There are many other evidences to show that the oldest Chinese Buddhist translations and transliterations were based on Tokharian and Kuchean. The Chinese Fo could have only been derived from these two sources.

Till now I have tried to show only that the source of Chinese name is Tokharian or Kuchean but the problem that a Kuchean sonant becomes a surd in Chinese remains unsolved. The only way of solving the problem is to re-examine the old pronunciation of Fo. The old pronunciation as reconstructed by Karlgren is *bud*. But besides this Fo there was another Fo. The character is the same but the pronunciations are different. Cf. *Li Ki*, chap. chi yi, comm. of Cheng... (言相見六彷彿來). She-wen gives the pronunciation of fang (仿) as (浮往及) and of fo as 浮味及 (p'iwəd). There are also other instances of this pronunciation of Fo in *Yi-li*, chap. Chi hsi li, She-ki etc.

From these examples we can find that the word Fo had two pronunciations. In the ancient Chinese phonetic system the word Fo belongs to the group (脂) the final of *ju sheng* of the *che* group is *t*; the *kiu-sheng* related to *ju-sheng* has a final *d*. Therefore Fo is pronounced in two ways: (i) *ju-sheng-b'iwəd* and (ii) *kiu-sheng-*

p'iwəd. The Kuchean pud-pūd exactly correspond with the *kiu-sheng* of Fo in initial and final.

We may therefore conclude that Fou-t'u, Fou-t'u, Fu-tou, and Fo are of different sources. The first three come from an Indian Prakrit and the last come through Kuchean. The conclusion seems to be very simple but it throws some new light on the history of the introduction of Buddhism in China.

Either in the history of the world or in the history of China, the introduction of Buddhism in China is an event of the greatest importance. Although in the ancient Chinese accounts there are many accounts of the introduction of Buddhism yet they are so contradictory to each other that we cannot make a clear idea from them (T'ang Yung-tung, *Han wei leang tsin nan pei caho fo kiao she*, I, pp. 1-15). Towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th the European scholars sent several expeditions to Central Asia. They discovered among the ruins of ancient cities and temples numerous manuscripts, paintings etc. Since then they made epoch making progress in the study of the history and geography of Central Asia and also in the study of the history of Buddhism. Prof. Sylvain Lévi proved that the technical terms in the Chinese translations of the Han period did not come directly from Sanskrit but through a medium, which was according to him a Central Asian medium (*Le Tokharien B, Langue de Koutcha*, J. As. 1913, pp. 311 ff). We find records in ancient Chinese literature which amply confirm his views.

I have tried to show that the Chinese Fo does not come directly from Sanskrit but through Kuchean. This goes to strengthen the theory of Prof. Lévi. The other word Fou-t'u which was used in Chinese earlier than Fo came directly from India most probably from an Indian dialectal form. How to explain this fact? Anyhow the theory of Prof. Lévi must be supplemented. We do not know exactly when the Chinese first received Buddhism. Buddhism must have come to China earlier than what is usually believed. It first came either by sea or by land. If it had come by land through Central Asia, the small countries in Central Asia did not yet play any part in the transmission. Chinese translations were made at that time from texts written in Prakrit. The Sūtra of the 42 Sections was one of them. The name Fou-t'u came to be used at this time. It was towards the end of the Han period that Central Asian monks and laymen came to China. They were Ngan She-kaō,

Che-k'ien, Che Lokakṣema, Ngan Hiuan, Che Yao, K'ang Mongsiang etc. Buddhism began to be transmitted to China by the Buddhist monks of Central Asia. The texts which they translated into Chinese seem to be have been not Indian but written in their own languages. The word Fo came to be used in this period. Dr. Hu Shih says "I suppose boldly that the term Fo came to be used under the latter Han dynasty, when the number of translations and Buddhists began to increase" (ibid, p. 181). I entirely agree with his assertion.

We now come to question of the authenticity of the Sūtra of 42 Sections, and its bearing on the use of the terms Fou-t'u and Fo. So far as the Sūtra is concerned Dr. Hu Shih and Prof. T'ang have discussed the problem thoroughly. I will confine my attention only to one of the points raised by them. Prof. T'ang contends that there were two translations of the Sūtra of 42 Sections and that the existing one in the Chinese Tripiṭaka is in too fine a style to be a Han translation. He thinks that the Han translation which was in a plain and simple style was lost. The second translation of the text, that by Che-k'ien of the Wu dynasty, which is in a more refined style, has come down to us (T'ang, *loc. cit.* I, p. 36). Dr. Hu Shih agrees with this theory (*loc. cit.* p. 178). To me also the theory appears to be very plausible. But one point still remains unexplained. Siang Kiai in his memorial to Huang-ti says "Fou-t'u does not sleep for three nights under a mulberry tree. He does not want to remain there longer lest he may have love for it. This is due to his utmost exertion. The god sends him beautiful girls. Fou-t'u says 'these are only leather sack with blood'. He does not look at them. He is so devoted to his asceticism" (*Hou Han Shu* ch. 60b). In the Sūtra of the 42 Sections we find similar expressions: "He eats only once a day; he remains under the tree only for one night, he never repeats. What blind the people are the desire and the ignorance (Taisho ed. XVII, 722b). "The god offers the Buddha a beautiful girl in order to try him. The Buddha looks at the Tao and says 'you are a leather sack with dirt; why have you come? You can cheat with the common people but cannot shake me who has got six spiritual powers'" (ibid, 723b).

A comparison shows that Siang Kiai was most probably drawing upon the Sūtra of the 42 Sections. Both Dr. Hu Shih (ibid. p. 171) and Prof. T'ang (ibid. p. 33 f) are of this opinion. But Prof. Chen on the contrary contends that "to remain for one night under a tree" and "leather sack with dirt" are of common usage among the

Buddhists. The quotation of Siang Kiai, according to him, does not necessarily come from the Sūtra of 42 Sections (ibid. 179). Moreover he points out that Siang Kiai uses the term Fou-t'u in his memorial but it is Fo which we find in the Sūtra of 42 Sections. Dr. Hu admits that there is much force in this contention. Prof. T'ang tries to explain it thus: "The old Chinese books were transmitted only through copies. A term like Fou-t'u does not represent exactly the original name. Besides the Chinese words literally convey a sense of despise. In course of repeated copying the old was changed into a new one (ibid. p. 36).

Now that we know that the source of Fou-t'u was an Indian dialectal form and that of Fo was Kuchean, we can look at the problem from a new point of view. A satisfactory explanation of the problem may be found by having recourse to a new hypothesis. We know that the Sūtra of the 42 Sections was twice translated into Chinese. The first translation which was done in the Han period was based on an Indian original. This translation used the term Fou-t'u and Siang Kiai's quotation was from this translation. This translation was subsequently lost. The second translation, that of Che Kien has come down to us. The original of this translation must have been in some Central Asian dialect.

We thus find that the three principles that were enunciated by Prof. Chen are not based on very strong grounds. He has overlooked the fact that the use of the two names Fou-t'u and Fo concerned chiefly a difference in sources. Simply for the fact that some of the Han translations use only Fo and not Fou-t'u we cannot consider them as not being Han translations. His contention that "even if they are translations" cannot also be supported.

Prof. Chen besides pointed out that Fo is not used in the historical materials used by Fan Wei-tsong. Dr. Hu Shih gives a reasonable explanation of this fact thus: "Yu(chüan), Ch'en (sho), Sse Ma (p'iao) and Fan (Wei Tsong) etc. were all non-Buddhist historians. From the fact that they used only Fou-t'u and not Fo or probably Fo in some cases, we cannot infer that the Buddhists of those days had not yet used Fo as common term for Buddha" (ibid. p. 195). The Chinese scholars and historians borrowed the word Fou-t'u from such texts as had been directly translated from Indian sources. The word Fo was brought later by the Central Asian monks and at the beginning it was confined only to the texts translated by them. Later on it became a word of common use and replaced Fou-t'u on account of its apparent advantages.

## A Sanskrit-inscription from Yünnan

The rubbings reproduced below were taken from two plates in a Chinese monastery called Fei-lai Ssu about two miles southwest of the district town of Fêng-i in Yünnan province five miles east of Hsiakuen on the Burma Road. An inscription in the monastery<sup>1</sup> tells us that it was founded in A.D. 1691, the plates themselves are not dated. They may be some centuries older than the monastery because in China it is not uncommon that inscriptions are removed and refitted in a new surrounding.

Sanskrit-inscriptions in Yünnan<sup>2</sup> are of two types: those found on bricks manufactured between about 800 and 1000 A.D. and those on tombstones carrying dates from the end of the 13th to the end of the 17th century. Later inscriptions I have not seen. Sanskrit in Yünnan was only used for dhāraṇīs. It seems to have been introduced from China and not from India because even the oldest of the bricks carry Chinese headlines and gāthās together with the Sanskrit. But we know that Indian Sādhus of different denominations settled in Yünnan during the eighth and following centuries and it is quite possible that further investigations will yet bring to light inscriptional evidence of early Indian influence.

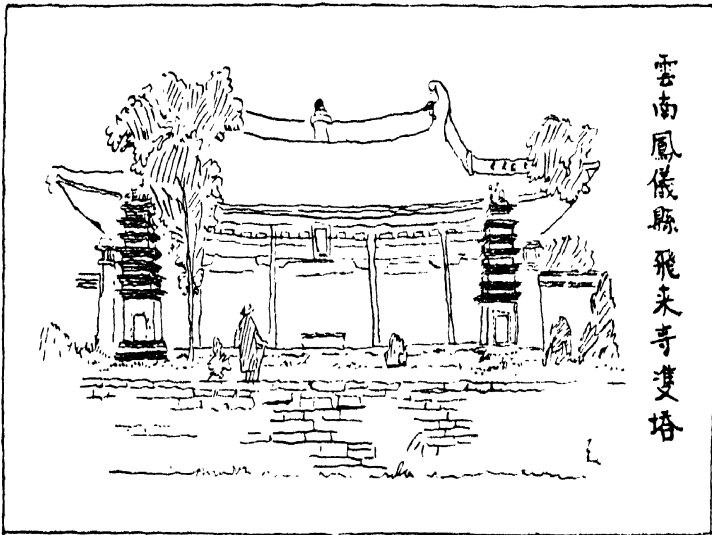
The texts on these plates could be identified as dhāraṇīs and pieces of dhāraṇīs, discontinued when the memory failed the compiler. Most of them belong to different Vasundhara-dhāraṇīs, one piece to the Sūraṅgama-dhāraṇī, extant in Chinese translations. The last three lines are almost identical with the last lines of the Sanskrit text of the pagoda that formerly belonged to the Kṣitigarbha Temple<sup>3</sup> (Ti-tsang Ssu) in Kuuming, built in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The spelling is extremely faulty as is the script. In some cases I was unable to suggest a reconstruction. Prof. P. C. Bagchi who kindly looked through my manuscript suggested that the text was

1. Detail concerning the monastery can be found in the Provincial History of Yünnan chüan 95 p. 18 r° and in the Journal of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture 7, 2, (1945).

2. Cf. W. Liebenthal, Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yünnan 1. Monumenta Serica, XII (1947).

3. A description of this monument has been published by Finot and Goloubew in 1925. Cf. Bulletin de l'école française d'Extrême Orient, tome 25, pp. 435-448 'Le Fan-tseu t'a de Yunnanfou'. Also Liebenthal l.c. p. 36 and 37.



雲南鳳儀縣飛來寺雙塔

Fei-Lai Ssu







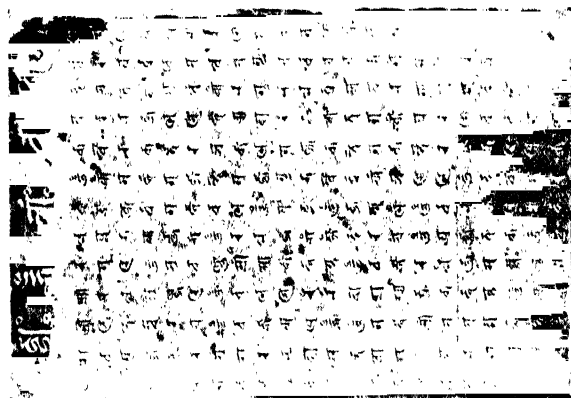


PLATE A

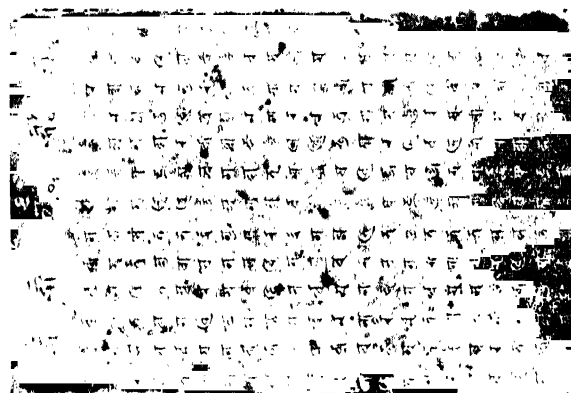


PLATE B

taken down from an oral recitation of the dhāraṇīs by a Chinese monk who perhaps knew as little Sanskrit as the calligraphist. This I think, is most probable, Cp. the “bu” in budhisatva, the “mu” in amugha (for amogha), the “ghu” in nirghuṣa, the confusion about long and short syllables, guṇa and vṛddhi, the different “s”, “r” and “ṣ” or “r” and “l” etc. On the other hand some letters look like badly copied e.g., “ni” in line A2, “tu” in B6, “hi” in B10. Perhaps both these factors worked together to produce the mistakes in this inscription, which is a glaring example of what happened to a language, studied only for its sounds, and to a script, copied without being understood.

## PLATE A

Jjaḥ Hūm Āmḥ Vam Hoḥ

- 1 //Om vasudhari mahāvasu dhi(?)ṣṭhi<sup>1</sup> nivartani<sup>2</sup> vasu  
svāhā/ om bha-
- 2 gavam vajadhara<sup>3</sup> sagaranighuṣan<sup>4</sup> tathāgatām svāhā<sup>5</sup>/
- 3 lokiteśvaraya/ om vajrapāṇa<sup>6</sup> hūm/ om mahāśrīye  
padmahastam/ om
- 4 Śrīratnaañjari<sup>7</sup>/ om calagi(?) ra(?) nadrāgragyataka<sup>8</sup> haste/  
om śrīca-
- 5 ramari/ om suvarṇo śrīśokāhaste<sup>9</sup>/ om vajrāratnakūṣa jjaḥ/  
om ra-
- 6 tnapuruṣan kuru/ om ratnajānāmjān<sup>10</sup> daraya/ om prajñātaka  
hūm/ om
- 7 vajrakrodha Mahābala hūm phaṭ/ om jāmmalam<sup>11</sup>/ om  
dhanakari svāhā/
- 8 Om śrūm mahārājā bhaisajyaguru vaidūryā/ agini<sup>12</sup> udakā mara-
- 9 ka vajra kantara<sup>13</sup> akālametyuka<sup>14</sup> taimaka<sup>15</sup> tairataka<sup>16</sup> viścika<sup>17</sup>
- 10 sarva<sup>17</sup> nakula sihā<sup>18</sup> vyaghra raikṣū<sup>20</sup> tarāko<sup>21</sup> p'rajīva<sup>22</sup>  
camalā<sup>23</sup>
- 11 daya<sup>24</sup> teṣām sarveṣām/ namu ratnatrayāya namo āryāvalokite-
- 12 śvaraya budhisatvaya mhasatvaya mhaḥkalonekaya tadyathā om
- 13 piśaci<sup>25</sup> parnaśavari<sup>26</sup> sarvamari<sup>27</sup> praśamani hūm phaṭ svāhā

Suggested readings: 1. Vṛṣṭhi 2. Nivartani or Nirvartani 3. Vajradhara 4. Nirghoṣan 5. Svāhā is usually written as one character 6. Vajrapāṇi 7. Āñjali 8. I am unable to suggest a meaning 9. Sākahaste 10. No meaning 11. Jambhalam 12. Agni 13. Kāntāra 14. Akālamṛtyuka 15. Traimukha cf. Tai-sho Tripiṭaka 945 XIX p. 136b 16. Trailāṭaka 17. Vṛścika 18. Sarpa 19. Siṃha 20. Rkṣa 21. Tarakṣa Marajīva cf. Tai-sho l.c. and Pramiti's Chinese translation: mo-lo-tsi-fei 23. Camara 24. Ādāya 25. Piśāci 26. Parnaśavari 27. Sarvamāri.

## PLATE B

Hūm Drūm Āmḥ Hriḥ Aḥ

- 1 Namō ratnatrayayā nāmo āryāvalokiteśvaraya budhisatva-  
 2 ya mahāsatvaya mahākalunekaya imun<sup>1</sup> tavam<sup>2</sup> parabhakṣāni<sup>3</sup>  
 3 Buddhā bhaṣa<sup>4</sup> maviṣesam<sup>5</sup> hesatva<sup>6</sup>/ namo ratnatrayāya  
 nama āryā-  
 4 valokitesvaraya budhisatvaya mahāsatvaya mahākaluṇi-  
 5 kaya tadyathā sumakhu<sup>7</sup> vimakhu<sup>8</sup> veru sumurū śodhhane viśodha  
 6 mahāsetābhadramukha<sup>9</sup> radrama<sup>9</sup> putibhatu(?)<sup>10</sup> te  
 tabhasaśadu(?)<sup>11</sup> svā-  
 7 hā śasyariṇi<sup>12</sup>/ om amoghabandha hūm hūm phaṭ/ om  
 amoghaprabhā(?) om  
 8 hūm hūm phaṭ/ om amugha telokyaya<sup>13</sup> vijaye<sup>14</sup> kuru ma  
 hūm phaṭ svāhā/  
 9 Om amugharakṣa svāhā/ om lakṣmibhūtā raṇivasiniye<sup>15</sup> svāhā/ om  
 10 dhanaddhāduhitre svāhā/ namo ratnatrayāya om vasuśriye  
 vasudha-  
 11 re svāhā/ namo ratnatrayāya om śriye śrikaridhare ddhānakari  
 12 dhānyakari svāhā/ om vasuśriye om vasumukhi svāhā/ om vasu-  
 13 śriye hūm hūm phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.

WALTER LIEBENTHAL

1 Imam? 2 Tvām? 3 No meaning. 4 Bhāṣā? 5 No mean-  
 ing. 6 Or Mahāsatva? 7 Sumukha. 8 Vimukha. 9 No mean-  
 ing. 10 Pratibhātu? 11 No meaning. 12 Śasyahāriṇi. 13 Trai-  
 lokyāya. 14. Vijayaṃ. 15 Raṇevāsiniye.

## The Geographical Catalogue of the Yakṣas in the Mahāmāyūrī

1

### *The text and translation of the Mahāmāyūrī*

The Mahāmāyūrī Vidyā-rājñī is one of the five famous formulae of Northern Buddhism, collectively called Pañcarakṣā or "Fivefold Protection." Its popularity has been maintained through centuries; it was translated not less than four times in Chinese between the 4th and the 8th centuries A.D.; it was also translated into Tibetan; it has always been piously copied in Nepal; the first finds in Central Asia brought to light two fragments of the original Sanskrit text. The work however owes its importance only to its magical value; its literary value is a nullity. It essentially consists of a series of formulae arranged abracadabra and artificially grouped around a nucleus. In India the peacock is known to be the deadly enemy of the serpent; the Mahāmāyūrī, "the great (dhāraṇī) of peacock" is therefore properly a dhāraṇī for protection against serpents. It has therefore been given a famous peacock as its introducer; he is a king of peacocks known as Golden Rays—*Suvarṇāvabhāsa* which lived in the Himalaya, the king of mountains. It assured its safety day and night by a magical formula. But one day he let itself to be tempted by sexual impulse and as he was roaming with almost a harem of pea-hens, he was surprised by his enemies who coiled round him tightly. This time also the magical formula saved him. The Pāli Jātaka has used these data twice, in the Morajātaka (159) and the Mahāmorajātaka (491) and has enriched it with romantic inventions and edifying lessons. The shortest translation has faithfully preserved the magical element; it reproduces the stanzas of adoration addressed by the peacock to the rising and the setting sun. The concluding stanza closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text of the Mahāmāyūrī. The peacock's prayer is expressly mentioned there as a *paritta*, a "protection"; the commentator explains this word as *rakkhā*, which is the equivalent of Sanskrit *rakṣā*, a word we have already met with in the canonical title of Pañcarakṣā. The magical value of the formula was so well established in Pāli Buddhism that

it was introduced in the collection called Paritta which is constituted with truncated pieces collected from the whole extent of the Canon. It may therefore be believed that the Peacock Formula goes back to the most ancient times of Buddhism. The Pāli canon which is otherwise so severely expurgated did not venture to reject from the Dīghanikāya texts of a similar inspiration, the Āṭānāṭiya (XXXII) and the Mahāsamaya (XX). The Sanskrit canon which is usually less orthodox has been more rigorous in this case. It has discarded the Āṭānāṭiya from the Dīrghāgama in which it was first incorporated and later when the Tibetans, so fond of magic, thought of introducing this text in their collection they had to translate it from the Pāli original (Mdo, XXX,15).

All sorts of unconnected elements have been grouped in the Mahāmāyūrī around the primitive nucleus which was the Story of the Golden-Ray Peacock. At the beginning, has been placed the episode of the Bhikṣu Svāti who is bitten by a serpent while chopping woods. Ānanda, agitated, calls for the help of Buddha. The latter communicates to him on this occasion the Peacock Formula, exalts its power and speaks of its origin. Then after the formula, comes a long chain of divinities invoked group by group for assuring the effectiveness of the formula. Each of the groups has also its own formula, its own dhāraṇī. It is a real mobilisation of the Buddhist pantheon and specially the popular pantheon; in their turns come also the Bodhi trees of the seven Buddhas, the 4 Mahārāja, Naravāhana the son of Kuvera, the Yakṣas—protectors of cities, the 28 mahāyakṣa-senāpati, the dharmabhrātṛ of Vaiśravaṇa and last of all the groups of female divinities who had guarded the Bodhisattva from the embryonic state up to his birth: 12 mahāpiśācī, 8 others, 7 more; 5 Mahārākṣasī 8 others and 10 and 12 more; 12 mātṛ, the mahāpiśācī Ekajaṭā “wife of Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa who lives on the border of the ocean”; and 77 mahārākṣasī. A litaney of svāhā addressed to numerous divinities and an enumeration of the evils cured by the Mahāmāyūrī seem to indicate the end of the text. But a new series of invocations call to the rescue other groups of powers: 108 Nāgarāja, 7 Buddhas and Maitreya, Brahmā Sahāpati and Śakra, then the 39 nadirājñī, 58 parvatarāja, 28 Nakṣatra divided 7 by 7, the 7 graha, the 67 ṛṣi, the 13 mahāprajāpati, the mahāviṣa and 12 mahāvṛkṣa. The effect of the Mahāmāyūrī against all kinds of evils is again exalted; he

who neglects her suffers great pains and he who honours her gets the highest recompenses. Thereupon, Ananda cures Svāti who remained under the risk of death during this long discourse and the two go to thank the Bhagavat.

M. Serge d'Oldenburg has printed the Sanskrit text of the Mahāmāyūrī in the Memoirs of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Society of Archaeology (*Zapiski*. XI, 1897-1898; Petersburg 1899, p. 218). He does not give an edition of the text but remains contented by reproducing the manuscript of the India Office (I.O. 1783) as a sort of appendix to an article "on the fragments of the Kashgarian and Sanskrit manuscripts of the Petrovski collection". He has been able to identify passages in three fragments with the Mahāmāyūrī. He has also been able to recognise the same text in several leaves of the Bower Mss. published by M. Hoernle (Part IV, plates XLIX-LII, LIII, LV). M. Watanabe (*A Chinese Text corresponding to part of the Bower Ms.* J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 261) has compared leaves of the Bower ms. with the corresponding passages of the Chinese translations; he has at the same time announced his intention to give a comparative and critical study of the entire text. On my part, I will study the list of Yakṣas, protectors of cities (O. 231-234). The text deserves it as I do not know in Sanskrit literature a geographical nomenclature which is so rich; it can be compared, outside India, only with the Tables of Ptolemy. This nomenclature has come down to us in exceptionally well preserved conditions. The ignorance and the negligence of the scribes at times seriously alter the forms of proper names but in this case a comparison with the Chinese and Tibetan translations allow us to establish the text as it was read in the 8th, 7th or even the 6th century A. D. We will have to determine whether the list is imaginary or real, traditional or positive. Forced to move in an imaginary world, Sanskrit literature often let us lose view of the rare realities which it might contain; the geography of our texts appears as stereotyped like the figures of its personages. If we see it more closely, the illusion disappears. The holy names hold the ground throughout the literature as they have done in all ages but side by side with them, fugitive name appear suddenly, shine and disappear one after the other. This phenomenon is even more common in India than elsewhere. India is in politics, as in philosophy, a country of



"moments", sudden accidents of nature or of history like the capriciousness of a water course or an individuality, transforms for a moment a modest village into an illustrious capital or an ancient capital into an impenetrable jungle. It will be enough to refer to the distant past of Rājagṛha, the royal city of Bimbisara, dear to Buddha, now hidden in forest within its mountain barriers and to more recent Vijayanagar of which the splendour dazzled the Portuguese which today is the place of shelter for wild animals.

The list of tutelary Yakṣas is wanting in the most ancient Chinese translations. Two of the translations belong to the period of Eastern Tsin (317-420); they are anonymous in the Korean edition but in the Ming edition are attributed to Po Śrīmītra (Naj. App. II, 36), a monk native of the Western countries who was born in royal family but had renounced the throne for a religious career. He came to China between 307 and 322 and translated three texts between 317 and 322. In fact the two translations of the Mahāmāyūrī which are mentioned under his name, are rather two redactions of the same text, one more developed than the other. Both the texts have the same title in the Korean collection; (*Fo shuo*) *ta kin sse k'ong ts'io wang ch'ou king*, Sūtra of the formula of the Peacock King, Golden-Ray" (Tok. ed. XXVII, 8). The Yuan and the Ming collections give to one the title of (*Fo shuo*) *ta k'ong ts'io wang ch'ou king* (Nanj. 309) and to the other (*Fo shuo*) *ta k'ong ts'io wang tsa shan ch'ou king* (Nanj. 310). The shorter redaction starts abruptly: The Buddha said to Ānanda: In the days of old, in the Snow Mountains, to south of this king of mountains, there was a Peacock king. In the morning he recited the sacred text of the formula of the great peacock king to protect himself and he was secure in the day. At night he recited it again and he was safe throughout the night. The formula is: "*hu hu* etc." (O. 222 infra, 223 supra). The Buddha then communicates to Ānanda, the heart of the formula (O. 251-252 ff: *asyāś cānanda Mahāmāyūrīyā vidyārājñyā etarhi hrdayam anuvyākhyāsyāmi. tadyatha ili mitti. . .*). From there the text jumps to the recitation and the approbation of the formula exactly as they had been given by Maitreya, Brahmā Sahāpati, Śakra (O. 251-252); then comes the enumeration of great ṛṣis with their respective formulae (O.256-257): "And also the four heavenly kings (devarāja) and the kings of demoniac spirits, that they might protect such and

such so that he might live hundred years. The formula says: *Akaṭe vikaṭe...*" This is the formula which follows the list of tutelary Yakṣas (O. 234); the translator has summarised in a simple reference the preceding pages (O. 234—*infra*: *pūrvāyām Ananda diśāyām Dhṛtarāṣṭre....*234 med.).

The second redaction which is more developed, mentions, at the beginning, the first invocations of the Sanskrit text in prose (O. 219 *supra*), recounts then the history of the monk Svāti as given by the Sanskrit version, passes over the verse *maitrī me Dhṛtarāṣṭreṣu...* with the formula accompanying it (O. 221-222) and rejoins then the first redaction which is reproduced by it with simple variants in transcriptions. The Korean and Chinese editors have given, several other dhāraṇīs which have no relations with the Mahāmāyūrī at the end of the text; the Japanese editor of the Tokyo edition has already pointed out this interpolation.

The indefatigable Kumārajīva (402—412) is the author of a new translation of the Mahāmāyūrī: *Ta kin sse k'ong ts'io ch'ou king*. (The Korean edition omits first three characters of title: Nanj. 311, Tok. ed. XXVII, 8, 4b). Here again as in the preceding case, the tradition has connected blindly the part of a different text with this text: this is a dhāraṇī of the Prajñāpāramitā which covers not less than a page and half of the Tokyo edition; the Japanese editor this time also has recognised it and placed it at the beginning of the text as interpolation. The end also consists of an interpolation borrowed from another dhāraṇī and also noted by the Japanese editor. Between these two adventitious pieces, occurs a truncated text of the Mahāmāyūrī which is really the second redaction attributed to Po Śrimitra abridged. It reproduces the starting benedictions the story of Svāti in a mutilated condition with the enumeration of evils cured by the Mahāmāyūrī and then jumps suddenly to the peacock formula (*hu hu...O. 223 supra*); from there it jumps again to: "And also the four heavenly kings (devarāja) and the kings of demoniac spirits...etc." as before and the formula *Akaṭe vikaṭe*. In fact in spite of the name of Kumārajīva being attached to the work, nothing original is found in it. The three translations examined up till now are only diverse aspects of the same text.

The first integral translation of the Mahāmāyūrī is dated 516 (it is due to Mr. Watanabe that the date has been precisely fixed). It is attributed to a monk native of Indo-China, Saṃghabhaṭa or

Samghabhara (in any case the form Saṅghapāla as restored by Nanjio App. II, 102 is wrong), who came from Fu-nan to China and translated a number of texts between 506 and 520. The work is entitled: (*Fo shuo*) *k'ong ts'io wang ch'ou king*: The Sūtra of the formula of Peacock king (Nanj. 308, Tok. ed. XXVII, 7). The translation which is too literal could not have certainly satisfied the learned. Two centuries later (705), the pilgrim Yi-tsing, an expert in good style, gave a new translation: (*Fo shuo*) *ta k'ong ts'io ch'ou wang king*: The Sūtra of the king of magic (Vidyārājñī) of the great Peacock. (Nanj. 306, Tok. ed. XXVII, 7). He takes upon himself to reproduce faithfully the external form of the original. He translates verses in verses; the names of Yakṣas in numerous syllables do not easily adapt themselves to the pentasyllabic verses in Chinese; so Yi-tsing was at times compelled to amputate the proper names, more often to translate them part by part. The famous Amoghavajra, missionary and champion of Tantrik Buddhism in China, could not neglect a text so important as the Mahāmāyūrī; he gave in his turn a new translation under the title: *Fo mu ta k'ong ts'io ming wang king*—Sūtra of the king of knowledge (Vidyārājñī), the great Peacock, mother of Buddha (Nanjio 307; Tok. ed. XXV, 6). In fact it is a revision of the translation of Yi-tsing rather than an original work; Amoghavajra was satisfied by retouching the work of his predecessor, utilising at times the work of Samghabhara. Amoghavajra certainly had a Sanskrit text, probably several, of the Mahāmāyūrī in his hands; his corrections, therefore, have a special interest because they present a judicious selection. Amoghavajra was a remarkable scholar and therefore his opinion is worth consideration.

M. Nanjio (no. 311) has pointed out a reference in the *Che yuan fa pao kien t'ong tson lu* (Nanj. 1612), Comparative catalogue of the Yuan collection compiled in 1285-1287 which seems to imply the existence in this collection of a parallel edition of the Mahāmāyūrī in Sanskrit and Chinese due also to Amoghavajra under the title: *T'ang fan siang k'ong ts'io king*. The work, if it had ever existed, has not been preserved. A Japanese priest named Rioun (Ling-yun) has compared the translation of Amoghavajra which he took as the basis with that of Yi-tsing; his work is dated 1686 and entitled; *Fo mu ta k'ong ts'io ming wang king yi t'ong*; it has been published in the Tokyo edition XXV, 6, p.

83a ff.; the part which bears on the list of the tutelary Yakṣas commences from p. 86a, col. 1.

The Tibetan translation is found in the section of Rgyud of the Kanjur., Vol. XIII de Csoma, XIV of the Peking edition (Pelliot Collection). It is due to Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha and Bande Ye-śes sde. It bears the title: *Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo gzuñs*, which is a literal translation of the Sanskrit title. The translation, as usual in Tibetan, is of a surprising fidelity and precision. The proper names in it have been translated in the Tibetan way instead of being transliterated. The translation is often artificial and fantastic but it is at any rate based on the etymology which was current amongst the Indian Pandits in those days.

Besides these materials, I have used two manuscripts : one [D.] of the Bibliotheque Nationale (Sanskrit 67) which comes down from Burnouf and dated 1749; the other [H.] of the Société Asiatique (no. 20), doubtless modern which is a copy from Hodgson. There is a number of manuscripts in the British collection which I should have consulted: the Cambridge Collection catalogued by Bendall possesses not less than 9 copies of the Pañcarakṣā, almost all ancient (Add. 1688 of the 14th year of Nayapāla about 1054 A.D., Add. 1644 of 1205; Add. 1656 of the 13th century; Add. 1662 of the 12th-13th century, Add. 1701 of 1389; Add. 1164-1 and 1475 of the 17th century). The British Museum has a manuscript of the Pañcarakṣā (Bendall 545) of the reign of Vigrahapāla—11th century; two others (Bendall 544 & 546) dated 1532 and 1576. The Asiatic Society of London has two manuscripts (56 and 57), one dated 1767 and the other described as "oldish". I did not think a collation necessary on account of the practical difficulties; the Chinese and Tibetan, besides represent a state of the text which is earlier than the most ancient Nepalese manuscript. Their system of writing which does not know the too easy confusions of the Indian alphabets furnish an element of solid control. Besides, the comparison with the fragments of the Bower manuscript, with the rest of the tradition, proves in a convincing manner that the text has been handed down with an astonishing accuracy even up to the unintelligible syllables of the dhāraṇī. Besides, the minor errors that are due to the scribes, one difference requires to be noted as it is the result of a conscious process viz. the Prakritic forms which have been replaced in course of time by Classical Sanskrit ones. Bower, p. 222, 1b, 2 and 3 *karohi*; O. *kuru*;

p. 225, 1Va, 3 *sarve satyā sukhā bhontu sarve bhontu gnāmayāḥ*; O. *sarve vai sukhinaḥ santu sarve santu nirāmayāḥ*. Another point which may be noted in order to avoid discussions which might be based on a single word; it is the epithet *drāmiḍa* "Dravidian" attached to a substantive *mantrapadāḥ* (*sidhyantu me drāmiḍa mantrapadāḥ* O. 219 and 224) which is wanting in the three Chinese translations as well as in the corresponding passage of the Bower manuscript, (p. 236, l. 7=O. 224, end of the *hṛdaya*). It is therefore a very late interpolation. The comparison of the mss. will surely help in determining its date. It will also help in bringing into relief the most ancient state of the text and the special variants which may lead to the classification of the families of the manuscripts. It is surprising, for example, that the readings of the manuscript D are in general agreement with the text followed by Saṃghabhaṭa (30, 1, *Dārako*=S; elsewhere *Dāruko*; 33, 1 *Kharayomā*=S (lomā); elsewhere *Khara-postā*, -*poṣṭa*; 35, 3 *Hiṅgumardane*=S (and A), elsewhere *Nandivardhane*; 50. 1. D. *Chatrāgāre*=S; -*kāre* elsewhere; 52, 4, D. *Kauśalyām*=S; elsewhere *Vaiśālyām* or *Kauśāmbiyām*: 69, 1, D. *Erakakṣe*; cf. S. *a-lo-ko*; elsewhere *Eka*-(Y.), *Deva*-(A.), *Bharukacche* (O. H.).

## II

## TEXT

ककुच्छन्दः पाटलीपुत्रे स्थूनायां चापराजितः । ।

1. S. kou-liu-sun-t'o (=kurusunda); Y. kiu-liu-sun-t'o (=kurusunda); A. kie-kou-ts'un-na; T. 'khor ba 'jig "circulation-destroy" (=krakucchanda)  
S. po-to-li-fu (cf. 67, 1); Y. po-ch'a-li tseu (=pāṭali-putra) cf. 67, 1; A.=y.  
T. *sky-snar- bu* "(flower) *sky-snar* (pāṭali)-son."  
O. sthālāyam; S. t'ou-na (cf. 6c 3); Y. su-t'u-nu (cf. 6o.3); A.=Y; T. *ka ba* "pillar."  
S. a-lo-po (sic) -she-to, note—in the language of the Leang pu-cheng-  
"no glory."  
Y. a-po-lo-she-to; A. a-po-lo-ni-to; T. *gžan gyis mi thub* "not superseded by another."

शैलो भद्रपुरे यत्न उत्तरायां च मानवः ॥ 2

वज्रपाणि राजगृहे गृध्रकूटे कृतालयः । 3

लिङ्गत्वा चानुपर्येति सायरान्तां वसुन्धराम् ॥ 4

महाबलो महातेजः शतयोजनविक्रमः । 4b

गरुडो विपुले यत्तश्चिंतयुतः स्थितिमुखे ॥ 5

राजगृहे वकुलो यत्तो महासैन्यो महाबलः । 6

2. H. sauro; S. she-lo but the Ming edition has—"Yakṣa shen-hien 'good wise' (Su-bhadra) in the city of she-lo;" A. ( the city of) she-lo; T. (Yakṣa) brag "rock."  
S. (the kingdom of) po-t'o (*supra* 2, 1); Y. (the city of) shen-hien 'good-wise' (Subhadra) A. (the Yakṣa) shen-hien; T. *groñ khyer bzau* "happy city."  
S. yu-tan-yue; Y. "the north region;" A.=Y.; T. *byaṅ phyogs* "north region; S. na-p'a; Y. mo-na-p'o; A. mo-na-p'o; T. *śid kyī bu* "son of Manu."
3. S. pei-chou-lo-po-ni, Note—"in the language of the Leang kin-kang shou 'diamond-hand;' Y. "diamond-hand;" A.=Y.; T. *lag na rdo-rje* "thunderbolt in hand."  
S. *deest.*, Y. wang-she (the city of) "house of king;" A.=Y.; T. *rgyal po'i khab* "house of king."  
S. ki-she-kiue; Y. tsiu-fong "vulture peak;" A.=Y.; T. *bya rgod phun po* "vulture peak." *kṛtālayaḥ* is not a proper name as d'Oldenburg thought; S. does not translate it; Y. translates thus—"he lives in the city of 'the house of king'; his constant sojourn is the vulture-peak;" A translates in the same manner; T. *bya rgod phun por gnas byas pa* in which *kṛtālayaḥ* is literally translated as an adjective.
4. H. trikṛtvā; T. *lang gsum* "three times."  
O. cānupayāti; T. *bar du 'gro byed pa* "going to the middle" seems to be based on *antarāyāti*.  
D. hanumātire sāgaraḥ; T. *rgya mch'oi mtha'yi bar gyi sar* "on the land between the borders of the oceans." S.Y.A. do not have this line.
- 4b. T. *dpag chad bcur ni nram par gnon.*, substitutes the word *bcur* 'ten' for *śata* 'hundred' of the original; S.Y.A. do not have this line.
5. S. kia-lu-t'o; Y. kie-lu-t'u; A. kin 'ch'a niao "bird with golden wings;" T. *mkha' ldiñ* "air....."  
O. Vipulo; S. p'i-fu-lo; Y.=S.=A.; T. *rgyas pa* "spread out."  
S. che-to-lo-kiue-to; Y. che-to-lo-ki-to; A. che-to-lo-ki-to; T. *sna chogs sbed pa* "diverse-hidden."  
D. *sthiripure*; H. Citimukhe; S. ti-li-ti-mu-k'o; Y. ts'eu-ti-mu-k'ia; A. che-ti-mu-k'i; T. *gnas sgo* "place gate."
6. Rājagrhe, *supra* 3, 2;  
O. Vaku'o; S. po-kou-lo; Y. po-kiu-lo; A.=Y. T. *ba-kul*.

कालोपकालकौ यक्षो वसन्तः कपिलवस्तुनि ॥ 7

यत्र जातो मुनिर्बुद्धः शाक्यकेतुर्महामुनिः । 8

कल्माषपादो वैरायां विराटेषु महेश्वरः ॥ 9

बृहस्पतिश्च श्रावस्त्यां साकेते सागरो वसेत् । 10

वज्रायुधश्च वैशाल्यां मङ्गेषु हरिपिङ्गलः ॥ 11

वाराणस्यां महाकालश्चम्पायां च सुदर्शनः । 12

7. \*S. k'o-to.....you-po-k'o-to (khāta-upakhāta); Y. ko-lo-siao "small ko-lo;" A. ta siao hei "great small black;" T. *nag po ñe nag po* "black near-black."  
S. kia-p'i-lo (kingdom of —); Y. kie-pi-lo (city of—); A.=Y.; T. *ser kya yi gnas na* "city of the brown."
8. Literally translated in Chinese and Tibetan.
9. S. *ko-mo-li* [corr. shō]-po-t'o; Y. pan tou tsiu "spot-peas-foot;" A. pan tsiu "spot-foot;" T. *rkan bkra po* "spotted foot."  
S. p'i-lo; Y. pi-lo-ye; A. fei-lo-ye; T. *dgra can* "having enemy."  
D. virāṭeṣu; S. p'i-lo-to; \*Y. tseu-lo-ch'a (=cirāṭa); A. che-lo-to (cirāṭa); T. *ci-ra-ta*.  
S. mo-hi-tsou-lo, Note—in the language of the Leang "ta pei—great white."  
Y. ta tseu tsai "great sovereign;" A. mo-hi-shou; T. *dban phyug* "lord master."
10. S. p'i-li-hai-po-ti; Y. pi-li-ho-po-ti; A. wu-ho-so-po-ti; T. *phur bu* "the planet Jupiter (Bṛhaspati)."  
S. sho-wei; Y. she-lo-fa; A.=S. T. *mñan-yod* "understand is."  
S. so-che-to; Y. so-k'i-tu; A. so-k'i-to; T. *gnas bcas pa* "place having."  
S. so-kia-lo; Y. so-kie-lo; A. so-ye-lo; T. *rgya mcho* "ocean."
11. S. fa-sho-lo-you-ti, Note—in the language of the Leang—"kin kang chang—'diamond arm';"  
Y. kin kang ch'u "diamond—"; A. kin kang chang (=S.); T. *rdo rje mchon* "diamond-arm."  
S. p'i-sha (var. so)—lo; Y. pi-sho-li; A. pi-sho-li; T. *yañs pa can* "extent-having."  
S. mo-lo; Y. li she "athlete;" A.=Y.; T. *gyad-* 'athlete.'  
S. ho-li-ping-kia-lo, Note—in the language of the Leang "she tseu ts'ing she—'lion-green';"  
Y. ho-li-ping-kie-lo; A. ho-li-ping-ye-lo; T. *spre'u ltar dmar ser* 'monkey-similar-grey.'
12. S. p'o (var. so)-lo-na; Y. p'o-lo-na-sse; A. p'o-lo-na-sse; T. *bā. ra. na. se*.  
S. mo-ho-ko-lo; Y. ta hai "great black;" A.=Y.; T. *nag po che* "great black."  
S. chan-po; Y. chan-po; A.=Y.; T. *cam-pa*.  
S. *sin-t'o-li-sho-na*, Note—in the language of the Leang—"Shen kien—

विष्णुयैक्षो द्वारकायां धरणी द्वारपालियाम् ॥ 13

विभीषणस्ताम्रपर्यामुरगायाश्च मर्दनः । 14

अटव्यामाटवको यक्षः कपिलो बहुधान्यकै ॥ 15

उज्जयन्यां वसुत्रातो वसुभूतिरवन्तिषु । 16

भरुको भरुकच्छेषु नन्दो आनन्दपुरे स्थितः ॥ 17

beautiful to look;" Y. shet. hien—"beautiful look;" A.=Y.; T. *lta na sdug* "beautiful to see;"

13. S. p'i-fu-niu (=vipnu); Y. fei (var. po)-k'ien-nu (=vighnu); A. fei-she-nu; T. *kbyab 'jug* "penetrating."

S. t'o-lo-ko; Y. p'o-lo-kia; A. t'o-lo; T. *sgo can* "having door;"

O. dhalano; H. *dhavanyo* (sic); D. Varuṇo; S. t'o-lo-nai (commented as "to hold"); Y. t'o-lo-ni; A. t'o-lo-ni; T. *'jin pa po* "holder."

H. dvārapāriyām; D. -pālayām; S. t'o-lo-po-pi; Y. hu men "guard gate;" A.=Y.; T. *sgo druñ* "door-near."

14. S. p'i-p'i-sho-na, Note—in the language of the Leang- "k'o wei—"redoubtable;" Y. k'o wei hing "redoubtable figure;" A.=Y.; T. *'jigs byed* "terrifying."

H. tāmravarṇyām; D. āmravarṇāyām; S. tan-lo-po-mo, Note—in the language of the Leang—shu t'ong she "colour of burnt copper;" Y. ch'e t'ong che "colour of red copper;" A. t'ong she "copper colour;" T. *zans keyi 'dab ma* "copper leaf" (-parṇa).

\*S. sha-ye-cho (=śayaca); Y. u-lo-kia; A. u-lo-kia; T. *prañ gi 'gro* "serpent-go."

D. madanaḥ; S. mo-t'b-na; Y. mo-ta-na; A.=Y.; T. *'jmos pa po* "oppressor."

15. S. lin "forest;" Y. k'oang-ye "jungle;" A. k'oang-ye lin "forest of jungle;" T. *'brog*—"jungle."

S. a-to-p'o; Y. k'oang-ye "jungle;" A. a-ch'a-po-k'u; T. *'brog gnas po* "jungle leaving."

S. kia-p'i-lo; Y. kie-pi-lo; A.=Y.; T. *ser skya* "brown."

D. Vasudhānyake; S. to ku "much cereal;" Y. to ts'ai "much wealth" (-dhana); A. to tao "much rice;" T. *'bru mañs* "much grain."

16. S. yu-sho-ye-ni; Y. u-she-ni; A.=Y.; T. *'phags rgyal* "risen-victorious."

S. p'o-siu-to-lo; Y. hu-she "guard-world;" A.=Y.; T. *nor bsruñ* "treasure-guard."

O.D.H. Vasubhūmi; S. p'o-pu-ti (=Vabhūti); \*Y. po-su-pu-mi (=Vasubhūmi); A. wa-su-pu-ti (=Vasubhūti); T. *nor 'byor* "treasure-full" (=Vasubhūti).

\*S. p'o-lan-ti (=varanti); \*Y. ho-la-man-ti (=ravanti); \*A. a-lo-wan-ti (=arvanti); T. *bsruñ byed* "protection do" (=avanti).

17. \*S. k'iou-lou-ko (=guruka); Y. po-lo-kia, \*A. shui t'ien "god of water" (=Varuṇa); T. *gso ba* "maintainer" (gso=bhar-);



अमोदके माल्यधर आनन्दो मरपपटे । 18

शुक्रदंष्ट्रः सुवास्तौ च ददनाम मनस्विषु ॥ 19

महागिरिर्गिरिनगरे वासवो वैदिरो वसेत् । 20

रोहितके कार्तिकेयः कुमारो लोकविश्रुतः ॥ 21

- S. p'o-lou-ko-ch'o; Y. po-lu-kie-cho; A. po-lu-kie-ts'e; T. *gso ba'i mtha'* "border of maintainer."
- S. nan-t'o; Y. huan hi "joyful;" A.=Y.; T. *dga'bo* "joyful."
- O., H. nandapure; S. a-nan-t'o-fu-lo; Y. huan hi "joyful;" A.=Y.; T. *ñe dga'gron khyer* "near-joyful-city" (=ānanda).
18. S. a-kiu-lou-t'o-fen (corr. ko) [Yakṣa]; Y. shen shui "higher water" [kingdom]; A.=Y.; T. *chu mchog* "excellent water" [place].
- D. mālādhara; S. mo-li-t'o-lo—Note: in the language of the Leang—"che hua man—'hold flower-garland';" Y. che man—'hold garland;' A.=Y.; T. *phren ba 'jin* "garland hold."
- S. a-nan-t'o (the commentary wrongly given here bears on Śukladamṣṭra, 19, 1 *infra*); Y.=S.; A.=Y.; T. *kun dga'* "complete happy."
- O. maraparyate; D. maruparvate; H. maraparvate; S. po-lo-po-to (=parpata); Y. mo-lo-po-po-che (=marapa[r]pate); A. mo-lo-po-ch'a (=marapaṭa); T. *'chi med sa žug* "immortal -earth-grease" (=amara-parpata).
19. S. shu-ko-lo-t'ang-sho-to-lo, Note—in the language of the Leang—"pe ya "white tooth" (this note has been wrongly placed in 18, 3 *supra*); Y. pe-ya-ch'e "white tooth;" A.=Y.; T. *mche ba dkar* "tooth white."
- D. Suvāstuṣu; H. Surāṣṭreṣu; S. siu-po-tou-nan (=Suvāstūnām), Note—in the language of the Leang "shen ch'u- 'good place';" Y. sheng miao ch'u—'excellent place;' A. sheng miao ch'eng "excellent city;" T. *dños bzai* "good thing" (=suvastu).
- S. inserts at the end of this first enumeration—"Such are the Yakṣas who follow the Buddha when he goes about to convert," ti-li-t'o-nan, Note—in the language of the Leang "kien ming- 'solid name';" Y. kien-ku ming "solid name;" A.=Y.; T. *mi* (corr. *miñ*) *brtan pa* "name firm."
- S. mo-sseu-ti-ko (=masitika); \*Y. a-p'an (var. li-ti) (=avanti or ariti); \*A. mo-so-ti (=masati); T. *gzi can* "shining" (=tapasvin?).
20. S. mo-ho-ki-li, Note—in the language of the Leang "ta shan—'great mountain';" Y. ta shan "great mountain;" A.=Y.; T. *ri chen* "great mountain."
- S. ki-li-na-kia-lo (com. shan ch'eng—'mountain city'); Y. shan ch'eng—"mountain city;" A.=Y.; T. *ri ldan gron khyer* "having mountain city."
- S. p'o-so-p'o; Y. p'o-sa-p'o; A.=Y.; T. *nor gyi bu* "son of treasure."
- S. pi-che-sho; Y. pi-ti-she; A. fei-ni-she; T. *phyogs mchams* "cardinal regions."
21. S. lu-hi-to-ko; Y. lu-hi-te; A. lu-hi-to; T. *skya yod* "red."

वैरवातटे शतबाहुः कलिङ्गेषु बृहद्वधः । 22

दुर्योधनश्च भ्रुघ्नेषु अर्जुनश्चार्जुनावने ॥ 23

मर्दने मण्डपो यक्षो गिरिकूटश्च मालवे ॥ 24

S. ko-ti-che; Y. kia-li-ki; A. kie-ti-k'i; T. *sm̐in drug bu* "son of the Kṛttikā;"

S. translates: "the Yakṣa T'ong tseu 'boy' is glorious in the world" (see *infra*, 22, 2); Y. translates: "the divine Yakṣa T'ong tseu resides in the kingdom of Ming ch'eng "glory;" A. translates: "this Yakṣa T'ong tseu, his name is heard in the great city;" T. *g'zon nu źes 'jig rien grags pa spyod* "famous as Boy, he has the glory of the world."

22. S. ch'an-t'o-ko-lo (=chandākāra); \*Y. p'in-t'o shan "the mountain Vindhya;" A.=Y.; T. *'od ma'i gram* "bank of bamboo" (=Venū-).

S. sha-to-p'o-hou, Note—in the language of the Leang—"pe kien-- 'hundred shoulders'" [this note is placed wrongly at the end of the words "the Yakṣa, Boy is glorious in the world"—*supra* 21, 3; S. puts together the last pāda of 21 with the first pāda of 22 and translates—"the Yakṣa-Boy (=Kumāra) resides with the Yakṣa—Hundred-shoulders in the kingdom of ch'an-t'o-ko-lo]. Y. pai pi "hundred hands;" A.=Y.; T. *lag rgya* "hundred hands."

S. kia-ling-kia; Y. kie-ling-kia; A.=Y.; T. *ka-lin-ga*.

S. pi-li-hai-lo-t'o, Note—in the language of the Leang—"ta cho—"great chariot" (this note has been wrongly placed after Duryodhana, *infra* 23, 1); Y. kuang cho—"large chariot;" A.=Y.; T. *śin rta che* "great chariot."

23. S. t'ou-lou-yu-t'o-na, Note—in the language of the Leang "pu-k'o hi-- impossible to resist;" Y. neng cheng chan—"capable of overcoming in fight;" A.=Y.; T. *thub par dka'*—"difficult to overcome;"

S. a-k'i-nai (=aghna); Y. su-lu-kin-na; A.=Y.; T. 'gro 'joms—"go to kill."

S. a-shou-na; Y. a-shu-na; A. hiung meng—"very brave;" T. *srid sgrub*—"white."

O. arjunāvanaiḥ; S. a-shou-na lin—"forest of Arjuna;" Y. hiung meng (kuo)—"(the kingdom of) very brave;" A. a-tsu-na lin—"forest of Arjuna;" T. *srid sgrub nags* "arjuna forest."

24. S. mo-t'o-nai (Yakṣa); Y. mo-ta-ni (kingdom) A. mo-ta-na (kingdom); \*T. *'joms pa*—"oppressor" (Yakṣa).

S. man-t'o-p'o (kingdom); Y. man-ch'a-pu (Yakṣa); A. a-na-po (corr. man?); T. *'dun kham*—"room of parlour" (place).

S. ūi-li-kou-to (translated in the same text as) shan ting—"mountain summit;" Y. shan fong "mountain peak;" A.=Y.; T. *ri breegs* "mountain accumulated."

S. mo-lo-p'o; Y. mo-la-p'o; A.=Y.; T. *phren ba bsruñ* "garland project"

भद्रश्च रोहिताश्वेषु सर्वभद्रश्च शाकले ॥ 25

शौतीरके पालितकः सार्थवाहो धनेश्वरः । 26

अजितजये कूटदंष्ट्री वसुभद्रो वसातिषु ॥ 27

शिवः शिवपुराहारे शिवभद्रश्च भीषणे । 28

इन्द्रश्चेन्द्रपुरे यक्षः पुष्पकेतुः शिलापुरे ॥ 29

25. D. kadruś; \*S. p'in-t'o-lo (=bindra); \*Y. ho-lu-ta-lo (=rudra); \*A. lu-nai-lo (=rudra) T. *bzan po*—"beautiful" (bhadrā).  
S. lou-hi-to; \*Y. ho-lu-ta-lo (=rudra); A. lu-hi-to ma (ma=aśva, "horse"); T. *rta dmar*—"red horse."  
D. Sarvabhakṣaś; S. sa-p'o-po-t'o-lo, Y. Yitsie hien "all wise" (sarva-bhadra); \*A. Yi tsie she—"all eat" (sarva-bhakṣa); T. *thams cad bzan* "all good" (sarva-bhadra).  
O. śālake; H. mālave; S. sho-ko-lo; \*Y. she-kie-che (=śakaṭe); A. she-kie-lo; T. *ma rjogs* "incomplete" (=śākala).
26. S. shu-ti-lo-ko; Y. shao-che-lo-kia; A. shao-che-lo-k'i; T. *sñems pa can* "proud."  
S. po-li-to-ko; Y. po-li-to-kia; A. po-li-te-kia; T. *skyon pa po* "protector."  
S. sa-t'o-p'o-ho (Yakṣa); Y. Shang chu "chief of merchants;" A.=Y.; T. *ded pon*—"caravan chief."  
S. t'o-ni-so-lo (Yakṣa); Y. fong ts'ai "abundant treasure;" A. ts'ai tseu tsai—"sovereign of treasures;" T. *nor gyi dban phyug'o*—"is the master of treasures."
27. S. a-she-tan-sho-ye (the Yakṣa Sārthavāha and Dhaneśvara both live there); Y. nan sheng "difficult to surpass" (the Yakṣa S. and Dh. both live there); A. nan sheng (place of S. and Dh.); T. *ma rgyal rgya* "conquer unconquered."  
O. kūtaśtho; S. kou-to-tang-so-tu-lo; Y. fong ya "peak tooth;" A.=Y.; T. *mche ba gcigs* "show teeth."  
S. p'o-siu-po-t'o-lo; Y. she-hien—"world happy;" A.=Y.; T. *nor bzan*—"treasure happy."  
O.D. vaśātiṣu; S. p'o-so-ti; Y. po-so-ti; A.=Y.; T. *gnas can* "having place."
28. S. she-p'o; Y. she-p'o; A.=Y.; T. *zi-ba* "pacified."  
O., H. Śivapurādhāne; S. she-p'o-fu-lo-ho-lo; Y. she she po ch'eng "food—Śiva-city" (-āhāra); A.=Y.; T. *zi ba'i gron len* "of the pacified city take" (len=āhāra).  
S. she-p'o-po-t'o-lo; Y. tsi tsieng hien "peaceful wise;" A.=Y.; T. *zi ba bzan po*—"appeased beautiful."  
\*S. she-sha-na (=śiṣaṇa); Y. k'o wei—"redoubtable;" A.=Y.; T. 'jigs byed—"terrifying."
29. S. yin-t'o-lo; Y.=S.=A.; T. *dban po* "master."

दारुको दारुकपुरे कपिलो वसति बर्णुषु । 30

माणिभद्रो ब्रह्मवत्यां पूर्णभद्रश्च भ्रातरौ ॥ 31

प्रमर्दनश्च गन्धारे तत्क्षित्यां प्रभञ्जनः । 32

खरपोस्ता महायक्षो भद्रशैले निवासिकः ॥ 33

लिगुप्तो हनुमातोरे रौरुके स प्रभङ्करः । 34

S. yin-t'o-lo-p'o-t'o (=indravadha); Y. yin-t'o-lo; A.=Y.; T. *dban gron* "master city."

S. fu-sha-po-che-tou; Y. hua ch'uang "flower banner;" A.=Y.; T. *me-tog rtog*—"flower lightning."

S. she-lo-pu-lo; \*Y. tsi tsi ch'eng—"peaceful city (=Śivapura);" A.=Y.; T. *rdo gron*—"stone city."

30. O., D. dārako; S. t'o-lo-ko (=dāraka); Y. t'o-liu (=dāru); A. na-lu-kia (=dāraka); T. *śin* "wood" (=dāru).

O., D. dāraka—; S. t'o-lo-pu-lo; Y. t'o-lu ch'eng; A. na-lu-kia-ch'eng; T. *śin gi gron khyer*—"city of wood."

S. ko-p'i-lo; H. t'ou huang she—"head yellow colour;" A. kie-pi-lo; T. *ser skya* "grey."

H. vallaṣu; O. varṇiṣu; S. po-na (vana); Y. po-nu (=va[r]ṇu); A. pa (cor. she) ch'eng—"colour-city" (=varṇa); T. *kha dog can* "having colour."

31. S. mo-ni-po-t'o-lo; Y. pao hien—"jewel wise;" A.=Y.; T. *nor bu bzai*—"precious stone—beautiful."

S. p'o-lo-mo-ti-ye; Y. fan-mo-fa-ti; A.=Y.; T. *chanṣ ba ldan pa* "having Brahma."

S. fen-ni-po-t'o-lo; man hien—"full wise;" A.=Y.; T. *gañ ba bzai*—"full beautiful."

32. S. po-lo-mo-t'o-na; Y. hiang fu t'a—"overcome others" (=para-); A. neng ts'uei t'a—"overcome others" (=para-); T. *'joms pa po* "oppressor."

S. k'ien-t'o-lo; Y. kien-t'o-lo; A.=Y.; T. *ba kan 'jin* "cow-hold."

S. cho-ch'a-shi-lo; Y. te-ch'a-shi-lo; A.=Y.; T. *rdo-'jog* "cut stone."

S. po-lo-p'an-sho-na; Y. neng ts'uei t'a (*supra*)—"overcome others;" A. neng kuai—"destroyer;" T. *rab tu 'joms pa* "very-oppressor."

33. H. kharapoṣṭā; D. kharayomā; \*S. k'o-lo-lu-ma (=kharalomā); Y. k'ie-lo-pu-su-tu; A. liu p'i "ass skin;" T. *bonṣ bsrul sil*—"ass-keep [pa?]-cymbal (?)."

H. daśaśaile; S. ch'o-t'o-she-lo (=chardaśaīla?); Y.=S.; A. t'u shan—"vomit mountain;" T. *skyugs pa yi ri* "mountain of vomitted": probably —chardaśaīla.

34. S. ti-li-kiue-to; Y. san hu "three guards;" A. san mi—"three-secrets;" T. *gsum sbas*—"three secret."

\*S. a-nou-ho-ti-lo (=anuhatira); \*Y. a-nu-po ho ngan—"bank of river Anūpa;" \*A. a-nu-po ho che—"by the side of the river Anūpa;" T. *'gram pa ldan 'nogs*—"bank of that which has jaw" (hanumati).

नन्दी च वर्द्धनश्चैव नगरे नन्दिवर्द्धने ॥ 35

वायिलो वायिभूमीये लम्पाके कलहप्रियः । 36

मथुरायां गर्दभको लङ्कायां कलशोदरः ॥ 37

सूने सूर्यप्रभो यत्नो गिरिमण्डलश्च कोशले । 38

विजयो वैजयन्तश्च वसतः पारण्यमाधुरे ॥ 39

D. raudrake; S. lu-lou-ko; Y. lu-lou-kia; A.=Y.; T. *bo-~~pu~~* (?).

S. po-lo-p'ang-ko-lo; Y. fa kuang ming—"emit light;" 'A.=Y.; T. 'od byed. "light make."

35. S. nan-t'i; Y.=S.; A. hi—"joy;" T. *dga' ba can*—"having joy."

S. po-t'o-na; Y. po-ta-na; A. ch'ang—"increase;" T. 'phel byed—"make increase."

D. hiṅgumardane; \*S. hing-kiu-po-t'o-na (=hiṅguvardhana); Y. nan-t'i;

\*A. hi-yu ts'uei—"grind hi-gu;" T. *dga' ba phel byed*—"make increase joy."

36. O. vāpilo; D. vāšilo; \*S. p'o-pi-lo (=vāpilo); \*Y. p'o-yi-lu (=vāyilo);

\*A.=Y.; T. *rlun ldan pa* "who has wind" (=vāyilo).

O. vāpibhūmiye; H. vāyibhūtiye; D. vāyubhūmiye; \*S. p'o-kiu (var. ko')-ho-pu-mi (=vaguha [vaghu] bhūmi); Y. p'o-yi ti (=vāyi + earth [bhūmi]); A.=Y.; T. *rlun gi sa*—"earth of wind."

\*S. p'o-ko (=baka); Y. lan-po (=lampa); A.=Y.; T. 'phuñ bar gyur—"fall in ruins" (corr. 'phyan' bar gyur—"to be suspended)."

S. ko-lo-ho-pi-li-ye; Y. ngai tou cheng "love quarrels;" A.=Y.; T. 'thab dga' ba—"love quarrels."

37. S. mo-t'ou-lo; Y. mo-tu-lo; A. mo-t'u-lo; T. *bcom brlag*—"conquered killed."

S. kie-t'o-p'o-ko; Y. kie-ta-p'o; A. ye-ta-p'o; T. *bon bu* "ass."

S. lang-ko; Y. leng-kia; A.=Y.; T. *lan ka*.

S. ko-lo-shu-t'o-lo; Y. p'ing fu "jar-belly;" A. p'ing fu "jar belly;" T. *bum p'ai lto*—"belly of jar."

38. D. sūrye; S. siu-na; Y. su-na; A.=Y.; T. *rab nams*—"very deficient" (su-ūna); S. siu-li-ye-po-lo-p'o; Y. je kuang ming—"light of the sun;" A.=Y.; T. *ñi 'od*—"light of the sun."

D.H. girimaṇḍaś; O. hirimaṇḍaś; S. k'i-li-wen-t'o (=muṇḍa); Y. p'ing t'ou shan "level head mountain" (=muṇḍa); T. *ri mgo*—"mountain head."

D. sthūlake; \*S. t'ou-lo-ho (=sthūlaha); Y. kiao-sa-lo; A.=Y.; T. *ko-sa-lo*.

39. S. p'i-sho-ye; Y. sheng "victorious;" A.=Y.; T. *rnam par rgyal* "much victorious."

O. vijayantaś; S. pi-sho-yen-to; Y. ta sheng "great victorious;" A.=Y.; T. *rnam rgyal ldan*—"having full victory."

O. pāṇḍamāthure; D.H. pāṇḍu; S. p'an-t'ou-mo-t'ou-lo (=pāṇḍu); Y.

मलये पूर्णको यक्षः केरलेषु च किन्नरः । 40

पौण्ड्रेषु मेघमाली च प्रतिष्ठाने च खण्डकः ॥ 41

पीतङ्गल्येषु संकरी तरङ्गवत्यां सुखावहः । 42

नासिक्ये सुन्दरो यक्ष असङ्गो भरुकच्छके ॥ 43

नन्दिकश्च पितनन्दी वीरश्च करहाटके । 44

pan-ch'e (Corean t'o) (=pāṇḍī, pāṇḍa); A. pan-ni (=pāṇḍī); T. *dkar po bcom brlag* "pale (=pāṇḍu)—conquered-killed."

40. S. mo-lo-ye shan (=mountain); Y. mo-lo-ye; A.=Y.; T. *ma-la-ya*.

S. fen-na-ko; Y. pu-liu-na; A. yuan man—"all full." T. *gañ ba*—"full."

\*S. k'i-lo-ko (=keraka); \*Y. k'i-lo (=kera); \*A. ki-lo-to (=kerata); T. *ti se gañs* (=kailāsa).

S. kin-na-lo; Y.=S.=A.; T. *mi 'am a* "which man?"

41. D. sāṇṭesu; S. p'an-t'o (=pāṇḍa); Y. p'an-ch'a (=pāṇḍa); A. p'an-na (=pāṇḍa); T. *pon dra*.

\*S. mi-k'o-po-ni (=meghapāṇi); Y. hu-yun—"guard-cloud" (=meghapāli); \*A.=Y.; T. *spring gi phren can*—"having garland of clouds."

S. po-ti-t'o-na; Y. po-ti-sho-ch'a; A. ngan ti "peaceful installation;" T. *rab tu gnas*—"excellent position."

S. k'an-to-ko; Y. kien-ta-kia; A. kien-na-kia; T. *dum bu la* "making into pieces."

42. S. pi-teng-kia-lo; Y. pi-teng-kie-li; A. pi-teng-ye-li; T. *pi tan ga lya*, S. seng-ko-li; Y. seng-ko-lo (=saṃkara); A. seng-kia-li; T. *yan dag byed*—"completely done."

S. to-lang-kia-ti (=taraṅgati); Y. ta po—"big waves;" A. tan-leng-ye-ti (=taraṅgati); T. *rlabs dan ldan* "which has waves."

S. su-k'o-p'o-ho; Y. neng yin yo—"can bring joy;" A. yin yo "bring joy;" T. *bde byed*—"happiness make."

43. S. na-sseu-ko; Y. na-sseu-kia; A. na-sseu-k'i; T. *sna nas byun*—"come from nose."

S. sun-t'o-lo; Y.=S.=A.; T. *mjes* "beautiful."

S. a-seng-kia; Y.=S.=A.; T. *ma chags pa*—"without attachment."

S. po-lu-ko-tan (pronounced ch'a) (Yakṣa); Y. p'o-lu-kie-ch'ö; A.=Y.; T. *gso ba'i mtha'*—"bank of supporter" (*gso*=bhar).

44. O.H. nandike ca; S. nan-t'i-ko; Y. nan-t'i (kingdom) [=nandike]; A. nan-ni (Yakṣa); T. *dga' byed*—"cause joy" (=Yakṣa).

S. pi-to-nan-t'i; Y. pi-to-nan-t'i; A. tseu nan-t'i "Son Nandi;" T. *pha dga'*—"rejoice father."

S. p'i-lo; Y. pi-lo; A. "these two Yakṣas" (=Yakṣau); T. *dpa'* (=heroes).

S. ko-lo-ho-to-ko; Y. ko-lo-ko-ki; A. kie-ho-ch'a-kia; T. *gser gyi lag pa*—"hand of gold."

लम्बोदरः कलिङ्गेषु कोशल्यां च महाभुजः ॥ 45

खस्तिकः खस्तिकटके वनवास्यां च पालकः । 46

तटिस्कन्धे भद्रकर्णः षट्पुरे च धनापहः ॥ 47

वंरामके बलो यत्तु अवन्त्यां प्रियदर्शनः । 48

गोमर्दने शिखण्डो च वैदिशे चाञ्जलिप्रियः ॥ 49

45. S. lan-fu-t'o-lo; Y. ta-fu "large belly;" A. chong fu "hanging belly;" T. *lio phyan po*—"hanging belly."  
S. kia-ling-kia (=supra 22, 3); Y. kie-ling-kia (=supra, 22, 3); A.=Y.; T. *kā liñ ga*.  
D. kośalāyām; H. kauśalyāyām; S. kiu-so-lo; Y. kiao-sa-lo (supra 38, 4); A.=Y.; T. *ko sa la*.  
S. mo-ho-pu-sho; Y. ta pi "great arm;" A.=Y.; T. *nag* (corr. *lag*) po che "great arm."
46. S. sa-ti-ko; Y. so-si-ti-kia; A. so-si-ti-kia T. *dge ba*—"happiness."  
S. sa-ti-ko-ch'a; Y. so-ti-kie-ch'a; A. so-ti-kie-ch'a; T. *dge ba'i pho bran*—"palace of happiness."  
S. p'o-na-p'o-sseu; Y. lin chong chu—"to live in the forest;" A.=Y.; \*T. *bā-ra-na-se* (=Vārānasi).  
S. po-lo-ko; Y. po-lo-kia; A. so (corr. p'o)-lo-kia; T. *skyon pa*—"protector."
47. S. to-che-so-kan-t'o; Y. sai-kien-t'o (=skandha); A. tan-che kien (=taṭi + shoulder [skandha]); T. *'gram ldan phun po*—"having side-shoulder."  
S. po-t'o-lo-kan-t'o (=kanda); Y. hien eul "wise ear;" A.=Y.; T. *rna ba bzan* "ear-beautiful."  
S. so-t'o-fu-lo; Y. shang man "constant full" (=satpūra); A. liu-man "six full;" T. *gron khyer drug* "six cities."  
S. t'o-na-ho-lo (=dhanāhara); \*Y. shou ts'ai "receive treasures;" A. sheng ts'ai "conquer treasures;" T. *nor gzan po* "treasure other" (dhanā-parah?).
48. S. pi-lo-mo-ko; Y. pi-lo-mo-kia; A. p'i-lo-mo-kia; T. *mtsha' ma* "end."  
S. p'o-lo; Y. yu li—"having force;" A. k'i li "vigour;" T. *stobs can*—"having force."  
S. a-p'an-ti; Y.=S.=A.; T. *srun ba can*—"having protection."  
S. pi-li-ye-t'o-li-sho-na; Y. hi kien—"joy-view;" A.=Y.; T. *mtshon dga' ba* "view-agreeable."
49. D. gonardane; \*S. kiu-kie-t'o-na (=gogardana); \*Y. niu hi "cow joy" (gonandana); A. niu ts'uei "cow-oppress" (go-mardana); T. *ba lan 'joms* "cow-crush."  
S. she-k'an-ti; Y. she-kien-che; A. she-kien-t'o; T. *gcug phud can* "having a top knot."

छत्राकारे वेष्टितकस्त्रिपुर्या मकरंदमः । 50

एककक्षे विशालाक्षो अण्डभश्च उदुम्बरे ॥ 51

अनाभोगश्च कौशाम्ब्या शान्तिमत्यां विरोचनः । 52

अहिच्छले च रतिकः काम्पिल्ये कपिलस्तथा ॥ 53

S. pi-ch'e-sho (=viḍiśa); Y. fang wei "cardinal points;" Ä. fei-ni-she (*supra*, 20, 4); T. *phyogs mchams* "cardinal points."

\*S. an-sho-na-pi-li-ye (añjanapriya); Y. ngai ho chang "love join palm;" A.=Y.; T. *thal mo dga'* "palms happy."

50. D. chattrāgāre; S. ch'o-to-lo-kia-lo; Y. kai hing "umbrella form;" A.=Y.; T. *gdugs dra* "umbrella like."

S. pa-she-ti-to-ko; Y. pi-sho-che-to-kia; A.=Y.; T. *bkris pa po* "surrounded."

S. ti-li-pu-lo; Y. san ts'eng "three storeys;" A.=Y.; \*T. *gron khyer drug* "city-six."

S. mo-ko-lan-t'o-mo; Y. mo-kie-lan-t'an-mo; A. t'iao mo-kien- "vanquish makara;" T. *chu srin 'dul* "aquatic monster—vanquish."

51. O.H.D. erakakṣe; S. yi-ko-kio-ch'a; Y. yi yi "sole side;" A.=Y.; T. *chan chin gcig*—"sole;"

S. p'i-sho-lo (=viśāla); Y. kuang mu "large-eye;" A.=Y.; T. *mig yañs pa*—"eye vast."

O.H. guḍakaś; \*S. a-lan-p'o (=alamba); Y. she an-ch'a "cat anḍa" (=anḍabhakṣa?); A. an-nan-p'o (=anḍabha); T. *sgo na 'i 'od* "light of egg" (=anḍabha).

D. candanāpure; \*S. cho-lou-t'an-p'o-lo (=carudambara); Y. wu-t'an-p'o-lo; A. you-t'an-po-lo; T. *u-dum-ba-ra*.

52. \*S. mo-ho-p'o-kia (=mahābhāga); \*Y. wu siang-fen—"without reciprocal division" (=anābhāga?) A. wu k'ong yong "without use artificial;" T. *lbun gyis grub*—"spontaneously realised."

O.H. vaiśālyāṁ, D. kauśālyāṁ; S. kiu-so-li (=kosali); Y. kiao-shan-p'i (=kauśāmbi); A. kiao-shen-mi (=kauśāmbi); T. *ko'u-sam-bi*.

\*S. she-ko-mo-ti (=śikamatī); Y. tsi tsing yi "peaceful thought;" A.=Y.; T. *zi-lan* "having peace."

S. p'i-lou-cho-lo (=virocala); Y. pi-lu-cho-na; A. wei-lu-cho-na; T. *nam par snam byed*—"specially shining."

53. S. a-hi-ch'o-to-lo; Y. she kai—"serpent umbrella;" A.=Y.; T. *sbrul gyi gdugs* "serpent umbrella."

O.D. caritakah; H. ca citrakah; S. cho-lo-ti-ko (=caratika); Y. tso yo—"make joy" (=ratika?); A.=S.; T. *dga' ba po*—"happy."

S. kan-pi-li; Y. kien-pi-lo-kia (kampillaka); A. kien-pi-li; T. *gyo ba 'jin*—"agitation hold" (kamp-+lā).

S. ko-pi-lo; Y. huang she "yellow colour;" A. ch'e haung she "red yellow colour;" T. *ser skya*—"grey."



वकुलश्चोज्जिहानायां मण्डव्यां पूर्णकस्तथा । 54

नैगमेशश्च पाञ्चाल्यां प्रसभो गजसाह्वये ॥ 55

वरुणार्या दृढधनुयैधेये च पुरंजयः । 56

कुरुक्षेत्रे च यक्षेन्त्वां तरार्ककुतरार्कको ॥ 57

यक्षी ख्याता च तलैव महोलुखलमेखला । 58

54. A. S. p'o-kiu-lo; Y. po-kiu-lo; A.=Y.; T. *bak-ku-la*.  
O. cājihāyanyām; \*S. p'in (Corean lei)—she-ho-na; Y. wu-she-ho-na; A.=Y.; T. *gyen du 'gro* "go rising."  
O. maṇḍalyām; S. man-t'o-p'o (mandava, the Yakṣa with Bakula and Pūrṇaka at P'in-she-ho-na); Y. man-ch'a-pi; A. man-na-pi; T. *sūn po thob phyed*—"substance [=maṇḍa]—obtain-half."  
S. fen-na-ko (as *supra*, 40, 2); Y. pu-liu-na (*supra*, 40, 2); A. pu-la-na; T. *gan-ba*—"full."
55. H. naigamecyaś; S. ni-kia-mi-so; Y. ni-kia-mi-sha; A. ning-kia-mi-sha; T. *gron rdal chol ba*—"town-search" (=naigameśa).  
S. pan-cho-li; Y. pan-cho-lo; A. pan-cho-li; T. *lia minas* (? *min*)—"five power" (matrix?).  
S. 'po-lo-so; Y. po-la-sa-p'u; A. nan ts'uei "difficult crush;" T. *'du ba mchog*—"press excellent."  
O.D. rājasāhvaye; H. gatasākaye; S. kia-sho (=gaja); Y. kie-sho (=gaja); A. ye-tu-so (=gatos); T. *glan chen brjod*—"elephant name."
56. \*S. po-na; Y. p'o-lou-na; A. shui t'ien—"god of water;" T. *chu lba'i yul*—"country of the god of water."  
S. t'o-li-t'o-ho-t'o-nou; Y. kien-che "solid.....;" \*A. kien kie—"solid chin" (=dr̥ḥhadhanu); T. *gzu-bstan* "bow firm."  
O. yodohiye; D. yo py eva ca; S. yao-t'o; Y.=S.; A. tou chen—"fight;" T. *gyul 'gyed ldan*—"fighter."  
S. pu-lan-sho-na (corr. ye); Y. pu-lan-she-ye; A. pu-lan-she-ye; T. *gron khyer rgyal*—"city conqueror."
57. S. kou-lu-ki-to-lo; Y. ku-lu-ch'an-tan-lo; A. kiu-lu-t'u (=kuru earth); T. *sgra nan zin* "bad-sound [ku-ru]—field."  
The three Chinese translations have—"the two Yakṣa kings" but the T. read "Yakṣendro" and translated it as *gnod sbyin dban*, isolating it from the rest.  
O. tarakkakutarākkakau; D. tār̥kikakutarār̥kikau; S. kiu-p'o-lo-ko (=kuvaraka); Y. tan-lo-kia (=taraka); and kiu-tan-lo-kia (=kutaraka); A.=Y.; T. *gñi dan rgyal nan rgyal gñi na* "Sun (=arka) and victory-difficult (ku-tara?) in victory-sun (=tara[?]arka);" it read—tarākke kutarākkakau.
58. H. jātā; the Chinese and Tibetan have "reputed" (=khyātā).  
S. "the two Yakṣi (ya-ch'a niu) mo-hu-lou-ko-mi-ko-lo;" Y. "the two

व्यतिपातिनः सिद्धार्थं अयातिवनवासिनः ॥ 59

सिद्धयातस्तथा क्षुब्धे स्थूनायां स्थून् एव च । 60

यक्षौ सिंवलौ यौ तु सिंहव्याघ्रबलावलौ ॥ 61

कोटिवर्षे महासेनस्तथापर पुरंजयः । 62

पुष्पदन्तश्च चम्पायां मागधश्च गिरिव्रजे ॥ 63

Yakṣi ta (great) nu-lu-k'ia-lo and also mi-k'o-lo;" A=Y.; T. "as Yakṣi, famous at that very place—*gtum* (corr. *gtun*) *chen gser gyi 'od dpag can* (corr. '*ogs pags can*)—".....belt-having."

59. S. pa-ti-ho-ni-nai (=vyatihāninah); Y. p'i-ti-po-ti (=vyatipāti); A. we-ti-po-ti; T. *gnod par byed* "make suffer."

S. si-ta; Y. ch'eng tsiu chong-she "accomplish all things;" A. yi ch'eng tsiu "object-accomplish;" T. *don grub*—"meaning realised."

S. "in the kingdom of A-ye-ti-po-ye (corr. na); Y. at A-ye-ti; A. in the forest of A-ye-ti; T. 'byun bar byed nags "to forest of taking out."

60. O. Siddhapātras; S. si-t'o-ye-to-lo; Y. si-t'o-ye-tan-lo; A. wang ch'eng tsiu "go accomplished;" T. 'gro ba drug (corr. grub) pa "going realised."

S. so-lu-k'o-na; Y. su-lu-kin-na (23. 2); A.=Y.; T. 'gro 'joms "go kill."

O. sphalāyām; S. so-t'ou-na (cf. 1, 3); Y. su-t'u-na (cf. 1, 3); A. su-t'u-lo (=sthūla); T. ka ba—"pillar."

61. S. "the two Yakṣas Seng-kia-po-lo (note—in the language of the Leang—she tseu li, hu-li—"force of lion" [=simhābala] and "force of tiger" [=vyāghrabala]) live at Kotivarṣa (*infra* 62, 1); Y. she tseu li piu li, Kotivarṣa etc. (*infra* 62, 1); A. hu li; she tseu li; both having the force of great lions, Kotivarṣa etc. (*infra* 62, 1); T. "at señ ge'i stobs force of lion (=simbala, name of place), the two Yakṣas señ ge stags stobs med byed lion-tiger-without-force-make."

62. S. kiu-ti-po-li-sha (kuo) (kingdom); Y. kiu-che-p'o-li-sha (Yakṣa); A. kiu-che nien (=koṭi year; Yakṣa); T. bye ba 'dab—"myriad-leaf (place).

S. mo-ho-sien-na; Y. mo-ho-si-na; A. ta tsiang "great commander; T. sde po che "great chief of army."

\*S. a-mo-lo-pu-lan-sho-ye (=amarapurāṁjaya)-kingdom; Y. pu-lan-she-ye (kingdom); A. t'o sheng kuan "other conquer palace;" T. gzan gyi gran las rgyal—"conqueror of others' city" (Yakṣa).

63. S. fu-po-t'an-to; Y. hua ch'e "flower tooth;" A.=Y.; T. me tog so "flower tooth."

S. chan-po (12,3); Y. chan-po (12, 3); A.=Y.; T. cam-pa.

S. mo-kia-to; Y. mo-k'ie-t'o; A. mo-kie-t'o; T. mñam dga' ba "equal happy" (corr. ñams.....'charming').

\*S. wu shan—"five mountains; Y. shan hing—"mountain march;" A.=Y.; T. ri mñas—"mountain."

गोयोगे पर्वतो यज्ञः सुसेनश्चैव नागरे । 64

वीरबाहुश्च साकेते काकण्यां च सुखावहः ॥ 65

कोशाम्ब्यां चाप्यनायासो भद्रिकायां च भद्रिकः । 66

यज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रे च नाम्ना भूतमुखस्तथा ॥ 67

अशोकश्चैव काचीषु अम्बष्ठेषु कटकटः । 68

एककृत्ते च सिद्धार्थो मन्दकश्चाजितंजये ॥ 69

64. S. kiu-yu-k'iu (Yakṣa); Y. kiu-yu-kia (place); A.=Y.; T. *ba lan sbyor*—"bulls yoke"—(place).  
 \*S. kiu-p'o-tu (=guvato); Y. po-po-to; A.=Y.; T. *ri* "mountain."  
 \*S. siu-t'u (corr. shai)-na; Y. su-she-nu; A. su-shai-na; T. *sde bzai* "army fine."  
 S. na-kia-lo; Note—in the language of the Lcang—na-kie; Y. na-kie-lo; A. na-ye-lo; T. *gron khyer* "city."
65. S. p'i-lo-p'o-ho; Y. p'i-lo-p'o-hu; A. yong pi—"brave arms;" T. *lags pa dpa*—"arms brave" for Sāketa S., Y. A. T. as *supra* 10, 3.  
 O. kākatyām; S. ko-ti; Y. ko-kie-ti; A. ko-k'ien-ti; T. *kha* (corr. *khva*) *la byin* "to crow give."  
 S. siu-k'o-p'o-ho; Y. neng yin ya "can produce joy;" A.=Y.; T. *bde byed*—"happiness make."
66. S. kao shan p'i; Y. kiao-shen-p'i (52, 2); A. kiao-shen-mi (52, 2); T. *kau-s'am ba* (var. *bhi*).  
 S. a-na-ye-so; Y. wu lao kiuen "without fatigue;" A.=Y.; T. *chags med*—"without passion."  
 S. po-t'o-li-ko; Y. hien shen "wise good;" A.=Y.; T. *bzai po can* "having happiness." Bhadrīkaḥ—same as the preceding name.
67. S. po-to-li-fu-to-lo; Y. po-ch'a-li; A.=Y.; T. *skya snar can gyi bu* "the son of some one who has *sky snar*- pātali flower."  
 S. pu-to-mu-k'o; Y. p'u-to mien (-face); A.=Y.; T. *'byun po'i gdon*—"face of being."
68. S. a-shu-k'o; Y. wu-yu "without sorrow;" A.=Y.; T. *mya nan med*—"without torment."  
 O.H. kāñcisu; D. sākete; \*S. yi-ko-chö (=ekaca); Y. kia-shi (=kāśi); A. kia-che (=kāca); T. *'chin ba* "glass" (=kāca).  
 S. an-p'o-ch'a; Y. an-p'o-sho-ch'a; A.=Y.; T. *ma la gnas* "in mother (=ambā) live (sthā)."  
 S. ko-tan-ko-to; Y. kie-ting (cheng)-kie-ch'a; A. kie-cheng-kie-ch'a; T. *śa than*—"who makes all efforts."
69. O.H. bharukacche; D. crakakṣe; \*S. a-lo-ko (=alaka); T. *chan chin gcig* "unique" (=ekakakṣa).  
 S. si-ta; Y. ch'eng tsiu yi (59.2A) "object accomplished;" A.=Y.; T. *don grub* "meaning realised."  
 D. mardanaś; \*S. mi-li-t'ou-ko (=mṛduka); \*Y. huan hi (17, 3) "happy"

अप्रोदके मुञ्जकेशः सैन्धवे मणिकाननः । 70

विकटकंठाश्च ये यक्षा वसन्ते कपिलवस्तुनि ॥ 71

गान्धारको वैकुण्ठिको द्वारकानिलयो ध्रुवः । 72

यक्षो मध्यमकीयश्च सौमित्रे यो महायशाः ॥ 73

(=nandana, nardana); A. man-na-kia (=mandaka); T. *dman po pa* "weak."

\*S. she-tan-sho-ye (27, 1) [=jitañjayā]; Y. nan sheng (27, 1) "difficult to conquer;" A.=Y.; T. *ma rgyal rgyal* "conquer the unconquered."

70. O. agodake; S. a-kia-lou-t'o-ko (18,1); Y. sheng shuei (18, 1) "superior water;" A.=Y.; T. *chu mchog* "excellent water."

S. wen-sho-che-sho; Y. mang fa " "; \*A. kiai fa "loosened hair" (=muktakeśa); T. *mun ja'i skra* "hair of muñja."

S. 'sien-po-p'o (p'o=dha, Julien—*Méthode*, 1487); Y. sien-t'o-p'o; A.=Y.; T. *sen da pa*.

S. mo-ni-ko-mo-na (-kamana); Y. pao lin—"precious stone-forest;" A.=Y.; T. *nor bu'i nags* "forest of precious stones."

71. S. p'i-ko-to-ko-to (Yakṣa); Y. ch'ang kin hu "always keep guard;" A.=Y. T. *mi bzan 'gro ldan dag* "not beautiful and the walker—the two."

S. ko-pi-lo (the Yakṣa Kapila with the Yakṣa p'i-ko-to-ko-to, both live in the kingdom of po-so-tou (=vasta); Y. kie-pi-lo (7, 2); (the kingdom where live the Yakṣa ch'ang kin hu); A.=Y. and adds: *kie-ch'a-cheng-kie-ch'a* (the rest as in 68, 4 lives at kia-p'i-lo-wei (=Kapilavastu). T. *mi bzan* and *'gro ldan* both live at *ser skya yi gnas* 'the place of the brown' (=kapilavastu).

72. S. k'ien-t'o-lo-ko (Yakṣa); Y. kien-t'o-lo (=gāndhāra, kingdom); A. k'ien-t'o-lo [as S.] (gāndhāra, kingdom); T. *ba lan 'jin* "cow hold" (=gāṇ-dhara, Yakṣa).

O.H.D. Naikṛtiko; \*S. p'i-ki-li-ti-ko; Y. to hing siang "many forms;" A. k'ien lin "avaricious;" T. *gzan brñas* "hate other."

S. t'o-lo-ko (13, 2) [Yakṣa]; Y. t'u-ho-lo (=dvāra, residence of Yakṣa 4); A.=S.; T. *sgo ba gnas can* "door-place-having;" S. takes nilaya as the name of a Yakṣa: *ni-lo-ye*; A. combines the word nilaya with the following word: nilaya—shoulder.

S. fu-lou-p'o (=bhruva); Y. t'u-lu-p'o; A. ni-lo-ye (*supra*) kien "shoulder; T. *rtaq pa* "fixed."

73. D. madhyamako yaś ca; S. mo-ch'a-mo (Yakṣa) and ki-ye-sao (Yakṣa) [madhyama-kiyasau]; Y. ch'u chong—"place middle;" A.=Y.; T. *dan dbu ma pa yi gnod sbyin dag*—" [dhruba, 72, 4] and the Yakṣa of the middle [=madhyamaka] both [Yakṣau]."

O. Saubhadreyo; S. po-t'o-lo-che (=bhadraci Yakṣa); Y. hien shen "wise-well" [=saubhadro, a place]; A.=Y.; T. *bzan mjes* "beautiful well" (place).

वैराटकः सारपुरे जम्भको मरुभूमिषु । 74

यक्षो वृन्दकटे ख्यातस्तथा विकट इत्यपि ॥ 75

वैमानिको देवशर्मा दरदेषु च मन्दरः । 76

प्रभंकरश्च काश्मीरे चण्डकश्च जटापुरे ॥ 77

पाश्चिक इति नाम्ना तु वसते काश्मीरसंधिषु । 78

O. mahāyanah; S. mo-ho-ye-sho (Yakṣa); Y. ta ming ch'eng "great glory" (Yakṣa); A. ming ch'eng "glory" in apposition of hien shen (*supra*, 2); T. *grags pa chen po* "glory great" (Yakṣa living at *bzan mjes*, *supra* 2).

74. D. vaiduryako; S. pi-t'ou-lo-pu-lo (=vaidūrapura, the common residence of 73, 1, 2, *supra*); Y. pi-tu-li-ye (=vaidūrya, residence of 73, 3) and pi-la-ch'a (=virāṭa-Yakṣa); A. fei-liu-li (=vaidūrya, Yakṣa residing at 74, 2); T. *dgras dogs pa* "by enemy feared" [=vaira + ?].

O.H. sarāpure; D. dvārakāpure; S. *supra*, 1. °pura; Y. so-lo-ch'eng (=sāra city, residence of pi-la-ch'a, *supra* 1); A. kien she ch'eng "strong city;" T. *gron khyer snin bo* "city essence."

S. yen (shen)-p'o-ko; \*Y. chan-po-kia (=campaka); A. jan-po-kia; T. *rmons byed pa* "obscurity make."

S. mo-lou-pa-mi; Y. mo-lu-ti; A. sha-tsi-ti "full of sandy land;" T. *mya nan sa* "desert land."

75. S. p'in-t'o-ko-to; Y. p'in-lin-t'o-kie-ch'a (Yakṣa); A. sho to "house many" (Yakṣa); T. *khyus 'gro* "in party go" (place).

S. p'i-ko-to; Y. p'i-kie-ch'a; A.=Y.; T. *ma runs pa* "cannot be treated." A. reads it as the name of a god (1 and 2 residing at) wu-na-cho-kia (=unaṭaka).

76. S. pi-mo-ni-ko (kingdom, residence of 2); Y. pi-mo-ni-kia (Yakṣa); A. p'i-mo-ni-kia; T. *na rgyal bral* "devoid of pride."

S. t'i-p'o-shan-mo; Y. t'i-p'o-sho-mo; A.=Y.; T. *lha rce* (corr. *brce*) *ba* "god affection."

S. yu-t'o-lo-t'o (u-darada); Y. ta-la-t'o; A. nai-lo-na; T. *'jigs byin*—"terror-give."

S. man-t'o-lo; Y.=S.=A.; T. *yid 'jigs pa*—"mind frightened."

77. S. po-lo-p'ang-ko-lo (=34, 4); Y. tso kuang "make light;" A.=Y.; T. *'od byed* "light make."

S. kie-pin; Y. kie- sho-mi-lo; A.=Y.; T. *kha ce'i yul*.

S. O. campakaś; S. chan-po-ko; Y. chan-po-kia; A.=Y.; T. *gtum po* "furious."

S. sho-to-siu-lo; \*Y. kie-ch'a ch'eng; A.=Y.; T. *ral pa can gron* "having treasures-city."

78. S. pan-che-ko; Y. pan-che-kia; A.=Y.; T. *lnas rcen*—"with five play." D. nāmena.

पञ्चपुत्रशता यस्य महासैन्या महाबलाः । 79  
ज्येष्ठपुत्रः पाञ्चिकस्य वसते चीनभूमिषु । 80  
स्कन्धाक्ष इति नाम्नेन सभ्राता कौशिके वसेत् ॥ 81  
उष्ट्रपादः कुलिन्देषु मण्डलो मण्डलासने । 82  
लङ्केश्वरश्च कापिश्याम् मारीची रामकक्षायाम् ॥ 83  
धर्मपालश्च खशेषु वाह्यां चैव महाभुजः । 84

- O. *sindhusaṁdhiṣu*; S. *kie-pin* (=77, 2); Y. *kie-sho-mi-lo* (=77, 2) *tsi* "joint;" A.=Y.; T. *kha ce's yul gyi sa mchams* "confines of Kashmīr."
79. Literally translated in S. Y. A. T.
80. S. *che-na ti* (land); Note: *che-na*, this is the land of Chong Hia (=China); Y. *ta t'ang ti* "land of the great T'ang—China" (the Corean edition has *kie-ling-kia* as in 82, 2); A. *che-na*; T. *rgya yul gyi sa* "land of China."
81. O. *Skandhākṣa iti nāmnā tu mahāvīryo mahābalaḥ/vijñāto'sau vasu-trātaḥ sabhrātā kauśike vaset.*  
S. *so-kan-t'u*; Note—in the language of the Leang—*wu pie t'ou sing kao she* "without separation head;" missing in Y. and A. (see *infra*); T. *phrag pa'i mig* "eye of the shoulder."  
S. *siu-to-lo ti* "land of *sutrāta*" (home of 1 i.e. *skandha*); Y. and A. omit the first *pāda* and have "and all other brothers live at *Kauśika*)." S. omits *Kauśika*; Y. *kiao-she-kia*; A.=Y.; T. *mjod ldan* "having treasure (=kośa)."  
*vasutrāta* of O. and *sutrā* [ta] of S. seem to have come from a ditto-graphy of "*sabhrāta*," the groups *bhr* and *tr*. being similar in Gupta script.
82. S. *yu-to-po-t'o*; Note: in the language of the Leang—*lo t'o tsu* "camel foot;" Y. *ya tsu* "tooth foot" (=daṁṣṭra-pāda); \*A.=Y.; \*T. *mcha ba rkañ* "tooth foot."  
\*S. *kiu-ch'en-t'o* (=kuḍinda); Y. *kie-ling-kia* (as 45, 2); A.=Y.; T. *ka lin ga*.  
S. *man-t'o-lo* (76, 4); Y. *man-ch'a-lo*; A.=Y.; T. *dkyil 'khor* "circle."  
S. *man-t'o-lo-so-na*; Y. *man-ch'a-lo ch'u* "place of.....;" A.=Y.; T. *dkyil 'khor stan* "circle seat."
83. S. *lang-che-so-lo*; Note: in the language of the Leang—*kien tseu tsai* "solid king;" Y. *leng-kia tseu tsai* "*Laṅkā* king;" A.=Y.; T. *lañ ka'i bdag* "king of *Laṅkā*."  
S. *kia-p'i-she*; Y. *kia-pi-she*; A.=Y.; T. *ka. bu. śa*.  
S. *mo-lio-che*; Note: in the language of the Leang—*kuang ming* "light-shining;" Y. *mo-li-che*; A.=Y.; T. *'od can* "having brightness."  
O. *māri cinakākṣayām*; S. *lo-mo-k'i-lo* (=rāmakhila); Y. *o-lo-mo lin* "forest of *Rāma*;" A. *lo-mo-kio-ts'o*; T. *dga ba'i chañ chin* "side of the pleasing one."
84. S. *ta-mo-po-mo*; Note—in the language of the Leang—*shou fa* "keep law;" Y. *ta-mo-po-lo*; A.=Y.; T. *chos skyoñ* "law protector."

जिनर्षभो राजपुत्रः श्रीमान् वैश्रवणात्मजः ॥ 85

यत्तकोटिपरिवृतस्तुखारेषु निवासिकः । 86

सातगिरि हैमवतौ वसतः सिन्धुसागरे ॥ 87

तिशूलपाणिस्त्रिपुरे कलिङ्गेषु प्रमर्दनः । 88

पञ्चालगण्डो द्रमिङ्गे सिंहलेषु धनेश्वरः ॥ 89

शुक्मुखश्चाटव्या पाताले किंकरो वसेत् । 90

S. kia-sho; Y. shu-le (=kashgar); A.=Y.; T. *nam mkha' srin*—"sky (=kha)-keep."

O. vāyaṃ; S. p'o-ho-li; Y. po-k'o-lo; A. po-k'iao-lo; T. *nan pa* "bad."

S. mo-ho-pu-sho, Note—in the language of the Leang—ta kien "great shoulder;" Y. ta kien; A.=Y.; T. *lag pa chen po* "great arm."

85. D. jinaprabho; S. sho-na-li-so-p'o, Note—in the language of the Leang—yu-ki "having luck" [In fact this is the translation of the word śrīmān introduced here by mistake]; \*A. wei kuang—"majesty light" (jina-prabha); T. *rgyal ba khyu mchog* "conquer-bull."

S. p'i-sha-men + wang tseu "king-son;" Y.=S.=A.; T. *rnam thos bu yi bu* "son of the son distinct-hear."

86. D. śaṅkhareṣu; S. k'o-lo (=khara); Y. tu-ho-lo; A.=Y.; T. *tho gar*.

87. S. so-to-k'i-li; Y. sa-to shan—"mountain;" A.=Y.; T. *'khor bcas ri* "circle with mountain."

S. hi-mo-p'o-to; Y. siue shan "snow mountain;" A.=Y.; T. *guñs can* "snowy."

S. sin-t'ou-so-kia-lo; Y. sin-tu (kingdom of—); A. sin-tu ho cho "river, by side;" T. *sin du yi rgya mcho* "Sindhu ocean."

88. S. ti-li-shou-lo-po-ni; Y. che san ku "hold three thighs;" A. *che san ki* "hold three lances;" T. *rca* (corr. *rce*) *gsum lag* "point—three-hand."

S. ti-li-fu-na (=tripuna); Y. san ts'eng (=supra 50, 3); A.=Y.; T. *gron khyer gsum* "city three."

S. ko-ling-kia; Y. kie-ling-kia (=supra, 22, 3); A.=Y.; T. *ka lin ka*.

S. p'o-lo-mo-t'o-na (=32, 1); Y. neng ts'uei (=32. 1A); A.=Y.; T. *rab 'joms pa* (=32, 1).

89. \*S. pan-cho-lo-chan-t'o (-caṇḍa); Y. pan-cho-lo-kien-ch'a; A. pan-cho-lo-yen-na; T. *chigs lña ser po* "joint-five-white."

S. t'o-lo-mei-t'o; Y. ta-mi-lo; A. ta-mi-na; T. *'gro ldiñ* "go float."

S. she-tseu "lion;" Y. sseu-ho-lo; A.=S.; T. *señ ga la*.

S. t'o-li-sho-lo (dhareśvara), Note—in the language of the Leang—ts'ai wu tseu tsai "master of precious things." Y. ts'ai tseu tsai; A.=Y.; T. *nor gyi bdag*—"master of treasures."

90. \*S. shu-ko-lo-mu-k'o, Note—in the language of the Leang—po mien "white mouth" (=śuklamukha); Y. ying wu mien "parrot face;" A. ying wu k'ou "parrot mouth;" T. *ne co'i bzin*—"face of a parrot."

प्रभास्वरः पुण्डरीके शर्मिलश्च महापुरे ॥ 91

प्रभञ्जनश्च दरदे पिङ्गलोऽम्बुलिमे वसेत् । 92

वव्वङ्को वव्वङ्गाधाने मातलिश्चैव कामदे ॥ 93

पुत्तीवटे सुप्रबुद्धः कापश्यां नलकुवरः । 94

S. lin-“forest;” Y. k’uang ye (*supra*, 15, 1) “jungle;” A.=Y.; T. ‘*brog* “jungle.”

S. po-lo, Note—in the language of the Leang—ti hia “under earth;” Y.=S.; A. ti hia “under earth;” T. ‘*og*—“below.”

S. king-ko-lo, Note—in the language of the Leang, ho so tso “what to do?”; \*Y. king-kie-so (=kimkasa); \*A. king-kie-so; T. ‘*gro* ‘*am ci* “to go where?”

91. S. po-lo-p’o-so-lo, Note—in the language of the Leang—tsuci kuang ming—“extreme brightness;” Y. yu kuang ming—“having brightness;” A.=Y.; T. ‘*od gsal*—“splendid.”

S. t’o-li, Note—in the language of the Leang—fen-t’o-li hua “flower of puṇḍari[ka];” Y. fen-t’o-li; A. po lien hua “flower of white lotus;” T. *pad ma dkar* “white lotus.”

O. *śārmalaś*; D. sanirmalaś S. sa-mei-lo; Y. sho-mi-lo; A.=Y.; T. *brce ba can* “affectionate.”

D. jaṭapure; \**Ṣ. cho-mo-lo* (=camara); Y. ta ch’eng “great city;” A.=Y.; T. *gron khyer che* “great city.”

92. \*S. po-lo-peng-ko-lo, Note—in the language of the Leang—tso kuang ming—“make brightness” (=prabhamkara); neng p’o t’o “can destroy others;” A.=Y.; T. *rab ’jigs pa* “very frightful.”

\*S. yu-lo-sho (=uraśa); Y. ta-lo-t’o; A. nai-lo-ni; T. ‘*jigs pa sbyin* “fear give.”

S. ping-k’ia-lo; Y.=S.=A.; T. *dmaz ser* “brown.”

S. a-mo-li-mo; Y. an po-li; A. an-mo-li; T. *chu dan ldan* “water having.”

93. O. vaccado; \*S. po-lo-sho (=bhalvaja); Y. po-po-ch’a; A. mo-mo-na; T. *ba ba ta*.

\*S. p’o-lu-to (=valudva)+lin “forest” (=vana); Y. po-po-ch’a (=1 *supra*); A. mo-mo-na (= 1 *supra*)+ts’ang “receptacle;” T. *ba ba ta bskyed* “production of b-.”

S. mo-to-li; Y. mo-tan-li; A.=Y.; T. *ma dan ldan* “having mother.”

\*S. ko-po-t’o (=kapada); Y. kia-mo-ti; A. sho-yu “give desire;” T. ‘*dod pa sbyin* “desire-give.”

94. O. putrivatē; D. putrivadhe; S. fu-ti-li-po-che; Y. pu-ti-fa-ti; A. pu-ti-fo-ch’a; T. *bu mo ’jug* “daughter-installation” (=putripada).

S. shu-po-lo-fo-t’o (=supra); Note—in the language of the Leang—shen kien—“well see;” Y. miao kio “well awakened;” A. ki kio “totally awakened;” T. *rab sañs* “very pure.”



पाराशरः पारतेषु शक्तस्थाने च शंकरः ॥ 95

वेमचित्तश्च पङ्कवे केतकेषु च पिङ्गलः । 96

पुण्ड्रवर्द्धने च पूर्णमुखः करालश्चोड्डियानके ॥ 97

कुम्भोदरः कोहलेषु मरुषु मकरध्वजः । 98

चित्तसेनश्च बोक्काणे रमठेषु च रावणः ॥ 99

- S. ko-p'i-she; Y. kia-pi-she (=83, 2); A.=Y.; T. *ka bu śa*.  
 S. na-lo-kiu-po-lo; Y. nai-lo-kiu-po-lo; A. na-ch'a-kiu-wa-lo (=naṭa); T. *nal ku bar*.
95. S. po-lo-sho-lo; Y.=S.; A. po-lo-sho-lo; T. *pha rol mtha' mcd* "other end is not."  
 S. po-lo-to; Y. po-lo-ti; A. po-lo-to; \*T. *dñul chu* "quick silver" (=pārada).  
 S. so-ko-so-t'o-na; Y. sho-kia ch'u "—place," A. sho-kia ch'u; T. *nu pa'i gnas* "place of the powerful."  
 S. shang-ko-lo; Y. shang-kie-lo; A.=Y.; T. *zi byed pa* "calmness make."
96. S. pi-mo-che-to-lo; Y. pi-mo-che-tan-lo; A.=S.; T. *thag thañs* (var. *žañs*, corr. *bžañ*) *ris*—"stuff—beautiful-design."  
 O.D. bāhlike; H. bāhyake; S. po-lo-p'o (=pa[h]lava); Y. po-la-pi (=ba[h]lave); A. mo-li-kia (=bā[h]lika); T. *pa bla ba*.  
 S. ko-to-ko (=kataka); missing in Y.; A. kie-to-kia; T. *ke-ta-ka*.  
 S. ping-kia-lo (=supra 92, 3); missing in Y.; A. ping-kie-lo; T. *dmars* "brown."
97. S. fen-na-po-t'o-na; Y. fen-ch'a-po-ta-na; A. pen-na-wa-ta-na; T. *'phral ris 'phel* "present part (?) increasing."  
 S. fen-na-mu-k'o, Note—in the language of the Leang—man mien "full face"; Y. man mien; A.=Y.; T. *bziñ rgyas pa* "face full."  
 D. karābhaś; \*S. ko-lo-to (=karata); Y. kie-lo-lo; A.=Y.; T. *ma ruñs pa* "frightful."  
 S. wu ch'an; Y. wu ch'ang; A.=Y.; T. *u rgyan*.
98. \*S. man-t'ou-t'o-lo (=mandodara); Y. wong fu "jar belly;" A.=Y.; T. *bum lto*—"jar belly."  
 O.D. kauśaleṣu; S. kao-so-lo; Y. ku-ho-lo (=kohala); A. kiao-sa-lo (=supra 38, 4); T. *thon śol ñan* "plough difficult" (ku-hala).  
 S. mo-lou; Y. sha tsi (supra 74, 4); "full of sand;" A.=Y.; T. *mya ñan* "desert."  
 S. mo-ko-lo-to-sho, Note—in the language of the Leang (?) yu (?) ".....fish;" Y. mo-kie chan "—banner;" A. mo-kie ch'uang- "—banner."  
 T. *chu śrin rgyal mchan* "aquatic monster—banner."
99. S. che-to-lo-sien-na, Note—in the language of the Leang—chong chong kiun "all kinds of armies;" Y. che-tan-lo-si-na; A. che-tan-lo-si-na; T. *sna chogs sde* "varied army."  
 S. pu-ko-na; Y. pu-kia-na; A.=Y.; T. *bo-ka-na*.

पिंगलश्चैव राशीने पत्नीये प्रियदर्शनः । 100

कुम्भीरयक्षो राजग्रहे विपुलेऽस्मिन् निवासिकः ॥ 101

भूयः शतसहस्रेण यक्षाणां पर्युपास्यते । 102

अहिच्छतायां गोपालो अलको अलकापुरे ॥ 103

नन्दी चैव नन्दिनगरे ग्रामघोषो बलिः स्थितः । 104

S. lo-mo-t'o; \*Y. ho-[lo]-mo-ti; A. lo-mo-t'o; T. *dga' dan ldan* "joyous."

S. lo-p'o-na; Note—in the language of the Leang—pi she "green colour" [the note is wrongly introduced here; it applies to 100, 1 *infra*]; Y. ho-lo-fa-na; A. lo-fo-na; T. *sgra sgrogs bu* "noisy son."

100. S. ping-kia-lo (= *supra*, 92, 3) cf. *supra* 99, 4; Y. huang ch'e she "yellow red colour;" A.=Y.; T. *dmaz ser* "brown."

S. p'o-lo-sseu-ye (=varasiye); Y. ho-lo-she (=rāśi); A. lo-she-na; T. *phun po'i bdag* "master (=īna) of.....(=rāśi)."

S. pi-ti-ye (=pitiye); Y. po-ni-ye; A.=Y.; T. *chun mo can* "wife (patni)—having."

S. p-li-ye-ch'e-li-sho-na (*supra* 48, 4), Note—in the language of the Leang—yo kien "joy see;" Y. yo kien; A.=Y.; T. *mtshon dga' bo* "see joyous."

101. S. kin-p'i-lo; Y.=S.=A.; T. *chu srin* "water monster."

S. wang sho (=4, 2) "king-house;" Y.=S.=A., T. *rgyal po'i khab* "house of king."

Vipula—missing in S.; Y. pi-pu-lo (=5, 2); A.=Y.; T. *yanis pa* "extended."

102. Translated in S., Y., A. T.

103. S. a-hi-ch'o-to-lo (=53, 1); Y. she kai (=53, 1), "serpent umbrella."

A.=Y.; T. *sbrul gdugs can* "serpent umbrella having."

S. kiu-po-lo; Y.=S.=A.; T. *ba lañ skyon* "cow keep."

S. a-to-ko; Y. a-lo-kia; A. a-lo-kia; T. *lcān lo* "bunch of hair."

S. a-ti-ko-pu-lo; Y. a-lo-kia (*supra* 3) ch'eng "city;" A. a-lo-kia ch'eng; T. *lcān lo'i groñ* "city of ."

104. S. nan-t'i (=35, 1), Note—in the language of Leang—huan hi "joy;" Y.=S.=A.

T. *dga' ba can* "joy having."

S. nan-t'i (=35, 1); Y.=S.=A.; T. *dga' ba'i groñ* "city of joy."

S. kia-lan-kiu-sha; Y. ts'un sheng "village sound;" A. ts'un hiang "village lane;" T. *groñ gyi lhas* "enclosure of city."

S. p'o-li; Y. po-li-si-t'o-lo (=balisthita); A. mo-li; T. *stobs chen* "force great."

देवावतारे वैश्रमणः स्वसैन्यपरिपालकः ॥ 105

यत्तकोटिपरिवृतो अङ्कवत्यां निवासिकः । 106

### III

#### GEOGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

*Pāṭaliputra* (1,1), Palibothra of the Greek Geography, the famous capital of the Maurya empire on the Ganges; the site is occupied by the modern city of Patna. The name of Pāṭaliputra reappears *infra*, 67,1.

*Sthūnā* (1,3) is the "Brahmin village made famous by a decision of Buddha; being consulted by Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa on the limits of the country of strict observance of the Vinaya rules, Buddha indicates Sthūnā as the Western limit. Beyond that, the prescriptions involve some sort of concession (cf. the various Vinaya texts translated by Pelliot, B.E.F.E.O., IV, 379ff.). The *Udāna* (VII,9) places Sthūnā in the Malla country and therefore to the north-west of Patna on the right bank of the Gandakī. The transliteration given by Yi-tsing (and reproduced by Amoghavajra) is the same as used by him in the translation of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya. It is quite noteworthy that the character *nu* presupposes a *nu* or *no* in Sanskrit. In the Sanskrit text of the Vinaya, Sthūnā is combined with Upasthūnā: *Sthūnopasthūnakau brāhmaṇagrāmakau*, Divy. p. 22,1; *sthuno* might have influenced the transliteration of Yi-tsing. He renders by the same character the final syllable of Upasthūnā although the same reason does not seem to hold good there. It was probably due to an analogy. Later on (60,4) the name of Sthūnā reappears and Yi-tsing this time transcribes it as *su-t'u-na* (A reads in this case Sthūlā. Perhaps it is another locality and the context seems to suggest that; see *infra* ad. loc.)

*Bhadrapura* (2,2) is probably Bhaddiyanagara of the Pali texts. It is the "happy village" where Meṇḍhaka, a typical lucky man, used to live (*Mahāvagga*, VI, 34). The Divyāvadāna, which has

105. S. r'i-p'o-p'o-to-lo-na; Y. ts'ong r'ien hia "from heaven descend;" A. fo hia pao kiai ch'u "place where Buddha descended by the precious ladder;" T. *lha las babs* "descent from heaven."

S. p'i-sha-men (=85,2); Y.=S.=A.; T. *nam thos bu* "clearly-hear-son."

106. \*S. a-to-p'an-to ch'eng (=atabanta city); Y. ho-ch'a-p'an-to ch'eng (=haḍabanta city); A. ho-na-wan-to ch'eng (=aḍavanta city); T. *ican lo can* "buckle having."

preserved the Sanskrit version of the story of Menḍhaka taken out from the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya (Tok. ed. XVI, 4, 67a) gives to the village the name P'o-t'i which the Fan-fan-yu explains fancifully as *lun shuo* "discussion"; this would presuppose a Sanskrit-*cāḍi*. P'o-t'i corresponds to Pali Bhaddiya. In the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya P'o-t'i is a city of the kingdom of *Siu-mo* (*Su-mo* according to Ming edition). The Pali texts place it in the Aṅga country or even beyond Aṅga (*aṅguttareṣu* in the Dhammapada commentary v.252), and therefore to the east of Pāṭaliputra towards the Gangetic delta. The country of Siu-mo which is explained by the Fan-fan-yu (*ibid*) equally fancifully as *yue* "moon" i.e. Soma is really the country of Suhma which is placed by the Brhat-saṁhitā (XVI,1), between Vaṅga and Kāliṅga—that is to say to the south of the mouths of the Ganges. The city of Dāmalipta (Tāmralipti, Tamalites of Ptolemy), the famous port near the mouths of the Ganges, was situated in the Suhma country according to the Daśakumāracarita, V, *init*. (Amoghavajra seems to have read *Śaile Bhadrapure* and the Ming edition has consequently corrected the text of S., but the other editions of S., Y., and T. and the manuscripts guarantee the other reading.)

*Uttarā* (2,3) is not the name of a place but means the northern region (*uttarā diś*) which is well confirmed by Y., A. and T. The transcription given by S, Yu-tan-yue is not in conformity with the system which he ordinarily follows. He has borrowed it from ancient translations which canonised this form. Its probable origin has been discussed (cf. last of all Pelliot B.E.F.E.O., V, 432-436. M. Pelliot has been led to believe that Yu-tan-yue is based on Sanskrit Uttarakuru. I would readily admit that it is a case of analogy founded on the frequent recurrence of the element-*catī* at the end of geographical names in India. The old designation of Gandhāra under the form Kan-t'o-wei (=gandhava'i) marks the play of the suffix under a Prakritic form at the end of a geographical name which does not contain it. Parallel to this form is also found *k'ien-t'o-yue* in which *yue* plays the same rôle. It is a kind of geographical exposition.

*Rājagṛha* (3,2) is too well known to be insisted on. It is modern Rajgīr, to the south of Patna. The Gṛdhrakūṭa (3,3) and the Vipula (5,2) hills, so glorious in the Buddhist legends, stand by ancient Rājagṛha. One to the NE and the other to the NW. By the side of these universally known names, it is surprising to

find Sthitīmukha (5,4). The other forms are: Sthirīpura D., Tritīmukha S., Citīmukha Y., A. They show that the interpreters and the scribes were not less embarrassed than ourselves in regard to this name. The word mukha, "mouth, opening", common to all the texts except D., make us think of "the mouth of the hell" which opened itself on the sides of the Vipula mountain (Hiuan-tsang, *Mém.* II, 24-26; Wang Hiuan-ts'e, fragment II in my article, *J. As.* 1900, I, p. 311). The name of the local Yakṣa, Citragupta, favours this hypothesis. Citragupta in fact is one of the guardians of hells.

*Kapilarastu* (7,2), "the place of Buddha's nativity" takes us to the North, up to the foot of the Himālaya. The two Yakṣas who preside over this locality are unknown. Their names are found again among the personnel of the Nāgarāja (Mahāvvyutp. §.167, 24-25); the Nāgarāja Kāla is associated with the legend of Buddha (cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 134); but it is at Gayā that he intervenes at the time of the Bodhi.

*Kalmāṣapāda* (9,1) on the contrary is a personage known both in the Buddhist as well as Brahmanical legend (Watanabe—*The story of Kalmāṣapāda and its evolution in Indian literature*. JPTS, 1909, 236-310); but in these legends he plays the part of a demon and not of a Yakṣa; he is a Rākṣasa. Moreover he is never associated with the country of Vairā (M. Watanabe who quotes the verse from the manuscript of R.A.S. and that of Calcutta reads Vairyā). The name of *Vaira* (9,2) is not found elsewhere so far as I know. The name that follows (9,3) is uncertain; the mss. read *Virāṭa* or *Virāṭa*; this also is a reading of S. (who does not distinguish, in his transcription, between the dental and the cerebral; Y. reads *Cirāṭa*, A. *Cirāṭa* and T. the same. The country of *Virāṭa* is mentioned by the *Brhat-saṃhitā* XIV, 12 between Nasik and Vindhya (but Kern suspects the verse to be an interpolation). It is also mentioned by the *Roma-kasiddhānta* (Oxford mss., pp. 338ff). *Virāṭa* with its derivative *Vairāṭa* makes us naturally think of Bairat in Rajputana; the presence of an Aśoka edict at Bairat proves the importance of this locality in ancient times. Bairat is situated to the NE of Jaipur and to the west of Alwar. *Vairā* might be the present city of Wer to the SE of Bharatpur and also in Rajputana. The Buddhist tradition places the famous story of Māṇḍikā at Kalmāṣadāmya (Pali. *Kammasadhamma*) in the Kuru country (region of Delhi); the name of the locality seems to have connection with *Kalmāṣapāda*, the tutelary genius of *Vaira*.

*Śrāvastī* (10,2) is present Sahet Mahet on the Rapti to the NW of Patna and to the north of *Sāketa* (10,3) i.e. Ayodhyā on the Sarajū.

*Vaiśālī* (11,2), present Besarh, is to the north of Patna, on the Gandaki; the country of the *Malla* (11,3) is on the same river. *Vārānasī* (12,1) is present Benares on the Ganges, above Patna; *Campā* (12,3) is on the same river lower down, in the region of Bhagalpur.

From the Gangetic region, the list passes on unexpectedly to Kathiawar with *Dvārakā* (13,2) which is protected by the Yakṣa, Viṣṇu; this city is glorified in the Mahābhārata where lived and reigned Kṛṣṇa, the avatār of Viṣṇu. *Dvārapālī* "side of the gate" as read by O. H. (-ri) S. T. or *Dvārapālā* as read by Y. and A. (13,4) is probably *Dvārapāla* near the Punjab which the Mahābhārata mentions in connection with Nakula's conquest of the West (11,1194).

*Tāmravarṇī* (14,2) in spite of the uncertainty of the tradition (-varṇī H.S.Y.A., āmravarṇā D) is not doubtful. It is Taprobane of the Greeks, the island of Ceylon; the choice of Vibhīṣaṇa as the tutelary Yakṣa is a sure index. Vibhīṣaṇa is the brother of Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā and the enemy of Rāma has also been incorporated in the Buddhist personnel; it is Rāvaṇa who welcomes Buddha in the Laṅkāvatāra. The Mahāmāyūrī has a special dhāraṇī (O,242-243) for Ekajaṭā, the Mahāpiśāci, the wife of Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa who lives on the border of the Ocean.

*Uraga* (14,3) is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, II,1027, as one of the northern countries conquered by Arjuna, side by side with the countries of Abhisāra and Sindhapura which are contiguous with Kashmir. Since long it has been generally recognised as the country also called Uraśā (Arsa or Ouarsa of Ptolemy; modern district of Hazara between the Indus and the Upper Beas; cf. the excellent note of Stein on *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* V, 217); Saṅghavarman read also -śā instead of -gā; his transcription *sha-ye-cho* reproduces the final syllables (*ura*) *śāyā* (*m*)*ca* which he had taken as a part of the name; he has made the same mistake in various other cases. The writing *Uragā* for *Uraśā* can be easily explained by the extreme resemblance between *ga* and *śā* in the Gupta alphabet.

*Aṭavī* (15,1) is frequently mentioned in the texts; several prescriptions of the Prātimokṣa are associated with the memory of this locality. The Bhikṣus of Aṭavī (Pali Ālavaka) often appear as transgressor of the law. However the indications do not help in the identification of the site. The Buddha passes through Aṭavī while going to Śrāvastī from Rājagṛha (*Cullav*, VI, 16-21); between Śrā-

vasti and Aṭavi the road passes by Kīṭāgiri which also was on the road from Kāśī (Benares) to Śrāvastī (*ib.* 1,13,3-5). Aṭavi was therefore to the SSE of Śrāvastī. According to the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya (Tok. ed. XVI, 9, 101a; chap. 47, *init.*) the city of Aṭavi was founded by a general of king Bimbisara, on the very place where he had destroyed the robbers that filled the "great jungle between kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala". But the same name could have been and must have been applied to various other localities in the neighbourhood of a forest; the Mahābhārata, II,1175 mentions among the places conquered by Sahadeva "the charming city of Aṭavi", just after Andhra and Kāliṅga.

*Bahudhānyaka*-(15,4) appears also in the Mahābhārata (II, 1187), in the same list as Dvārapālā (*supra*, 13,4) among the conquests of Nakula in the West; it appears there immediately after Rohitaka (*infra*. 21,1) and Marubhūmi (74,4), i.e. Rohtak and Marwar, in the direction of Mālava, modern Malwa. Our list also follows this direction; it passes by *Ujjayinī* (16,1), modern Ogein, which was for a long time the most brilliant seat of literature in India, and to the country of Avanti (16,4) to which Ujjayinī belonged. If there is a place that is known, sacred and famous, it is Avanti; it is found everywhere, in all kinds of literature, among the Buddhists, Brahmins and Jains. In spite of this, S.Y.A. disfigure all the three names. S. makes it \*Valanti; Y. seems to read *Vasubhāmī Ravan-tiśā*, so far as may be judged from the transcription *ho-la-man-ti*; he renders *ra* initial by *ho-lo* Amoghavajra, himself, an Indian and a man of great scholarship, read Arvanti, which has the disadvantage of spoiling the metre.

*Bharukaccha* (17,1) glorious in the time of the Indo-Hellenic trade, Barygaza of the Greek sailors, is modern Broach, lying forgotten in the sandy estuary of the Narmadā. The Buddhist tradition of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-vinaya (Divyāva. p. 576) connects its foundation with the destruction of Rauruka (*infra*, 34,3). Among the foreign kings who brought presents to Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of the Rājasūya sacrifice, the Mahābhārata mentions (II,1830) the Sūdras established at Bharukaccha (Calcutta ed. Maruka-).

*Anandapura* (17,4). S. and T. guarantee the reading as against the form Nanda-of O.H.; the translation given by Y. and A. does not make it more precise. It is certainly Anandapura which Hiuan-tsang (*Mém.* II,268) places between Valabhi and Mālava and which is mentioned in several inscriptions (of Śilāditya VII of Valabhi,

*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 173; of Budharāja, *Ep. Ind.* VI of 295 which mentions the names of Anandapura and Bharukaccha together); this is modern Wadhāgar, to the north of Ahmedabad.

*Agrodaka* (18,1) is not found in literature; the name however appears in an inscription of 1328 and reappears later in an inscription of the XIX century dated 1824. The first, now in the Delhi Museum (*Ep. Ind.* I,93) glorifies a merchant of Delhi (Dhillikā) of the corporation of the “banyas established at Agrotaka” (*Agrotakanivāsīnām*). Its editor, Eggeling reproduces in this connection simply a note of Rājendralāl Mitra who was the first to examine it. Agrotaka would be “the original or Sanskrit form of Agra of which the merchants are known all over India as Agarwālā banyas”. The other inscription commemorates a foundation due to a personage of the “line of Agrotaka” (*Agrotakānvaya*). A more ancient evidence and still unedited leads to a precise identification. Che-mong, while going from Sākala (*infra* 25,4) Rohitaka (21,1) i.e. from Sialkot to Rohtak, passed by *Pin-k’i-p’o-lo*, *P’o-ch’a-na-kie* and *A-kiu-lu-t’o* i.e. Agroda (the Fan-fan-yu explains the name as “first quality boiled rice”. *Agrodana*, a fantastic interpretation). On the road from Sialkot to Rohtak, is found Agroha “an ancient city, says Hunter’s Gazetteer, 13 miles N.W. of Hissar; that is the ancient seat of the Agarwālā Banyas; in ancient times the place was very important. Since Shahab-ud-dīn Ghori conquered it in 1194, the Agarwālā Banyas have been dispersed throughout the country. The clan includes several richest men of India”. We can therefore affirm that Agrodaka (Agrotaka) is the modern village of Agroha.

*Amaraparpata* (18,4) is embarrassing. D. reads *Maru* (*purvate*) II. *Marapurvate*; O. *Māraparyate*; S. transcribes *pārpata*; Y. *Mara-parpata*; A. *Maraparpata*; T. translates *Amaraparpata*. *Pārpata* is either the name of a plant or of a mineral; it stands for Oldenlandia. It supplies a red paint which also has the name of *saurāṣṭrī* (Hemacandra—*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 1055-1056; cf. Amara, II,4,4, 18-19 *surāṣṭraja*) or of *Kācchī* (Hem. *ibid*; Amara has *kāḥṣī*). Both the names originate from the name of Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar) or of Kaccha (the Cutch peninsula). The Tibetan translation either as “deposit of earth” or as “fat of earth” seems to show that it was a surface deposit of earth; S. C. Das, on the authority of Sanskrit Tibetan lexicons, gives as equivalent of *sa śag*—the word *prthviviparvataka* which should be corrected as *pārpataka*; the word also occurs in the Mahāvīyutpatti, §. 212,223. The editor has chosen the reading *paryataka* but



has also given the variants *parvata*—*parpaṭa*. S. C. Das translates *sa ṣag* as “bitumen; Bohtlingk-Roth proposes with some hesitation to explain *prthvīpārvataka* (sic) as “petroleum(?)” P. C. Roy in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*, I, 58, speaks of a preparation of sulphur, copper, pyrite and mercury which the Siddhayoga of Vṛnda calls *parpatitāmra*; the text (*ibid* App. 4) mentions it as *parpatākhyā rasāyana*. The *Mahāvamsa* (transl. of Vījesimha, chap. 91, p. 322) mentions a village called *Pappapaṭa* *kānana* “the *parpaṭa* wood” in Ceylon. It must have been a natural product with its special characteristics. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 71, 3) places a people called *Aparaparvata* between the *Śatadru* and the *Sarasvatī*. The commentary *Tilaka* of *Rāma* gives a variant (*pāthāntara*) as: *Aparaparyapaṭa*. This is the reading which has been accepted by the Southern recension (ed. T. R. Krishnacharya, *Kumbakonam-Bombay*, II, 71, 3). The Bengali recension (Goresio, II, 73, 3) gives instead *Amarakaṇṭaka*, a range of hill situated in a totally different direction between the Ganges and the *Vindhya*. The *Mahābhārata*, II, 1193, mentions *Amaraparcata* immediately after *Pañcanada* (Punjab), a little before *Dvārapāla* (*supra*, 13, 4); here again the name must be corrected as *Amaraparpapaṭa*. The two epics seem to confirm the reading of the first term in the form in which it had been adopted in Tibetan: i.e. *amara*. When the nature of *parpaṭa* is better defined, it would be possible to identify the locality which produced it.

*Suvāstu* (19, 2) is the Sanskrit name of the river which is now called *Swat*, a tributary of the *Kabul-rud* to the north of *Peshawar*. This parenthetical mention of the name in a list starting with *Rajputana* and proceeding towards the other bank of the *Indus* is rather unexpected. H. gives *Surāṣṭreṣu*; *Surāṣṭra*, modern *Gujrat*, is quite naturally placed between *Rajputana* and *Girnar*. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* records the same sort of alteration in the same condition. Between *Arbuda* (Mt. Abu) and *Mālava*, it inserts the name of the country which all the mss. mention as *Surāṣṭra* but the text which *Utpala* commented on and which *Kern* also adopted, gives *Suvāstu*. The mention of *Manasvin* (19, 4) does not help at all in solving the difficulty. The name *Manasvin* is not found elsewhere. Besides all the translators have rejected the reading, although it is found in all the manuscripts; S. reads *ma-sa-ti-ka*; A. *ma-sa-ti*; but neither the one nor the other points out to anything known. Y. does not hesitate to reintroduce here *Avanti*, which is already mentioned at 16, 4 and which will reappear again at 48, 3. It has however a reasonable place here. The

Tibetan translation of the name as “brilliant, shining” suggests a reading like *māhasvīn* but that also does not help at greater precision.

*Girinagara* (20,1) is Girnar in Kathiawar. The inscriptions of Aśoka, Rudradāman and Samudragupta prove the antiquity of the site and the importance of the site. *Vaidīśa* (20, 4) is also a famous city, modern Besnagar, in Bhopal, near the Stūpa of Sanchi; it was there that the Garuda pillar bearing an inscription of Greek Heliodorus was found in 1909.

*Rohitaka* (21,1) is modern Rohtak, to the NW of Delhi; the Mahābhārata also speaks, like the present text, “of Rohitaka dear to Kārtikeya” (*Kārttikeyasya dayitām Rohitakam*) and as “a country, charming, rich in treasures and domestic animals, which has wealth has harvest” (II,7786). Nakula while going to the conquest of the Western region entered it and went out by Khāṇḍavaprastha.

The 22nd line abruptly takes a new direction eastwards: *Vṇvātata* or *Vaiṇvātata*, given in the manuscripts, is confirmed by T. which mentions it as “the bamboo bank” (*od ma* “bamboo” = *veṇu*). The Mahābhārata, II,1117, places the “king of Vēṇvātata” between the king of Kośala and the king of Eastern Kośala. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* (ed. Stenzler, 175, 1.14) locates the city of Kuśāvati in Vēṇvātata (var. lect. Vēṇvātata). Now Kuśāvati is the capital of Kośala or more accurately of Southern Kośala (dakṣiṇa-); Kośala proper, that of the North, had for its capital Ayodhyā. Kuśāvati was built on the side of the Vindhya mountain (*vīndhyaparvatasaṇuṣu*, Cf. *Viṣṇu P.* Wilson-Hall, II, 172 and III, 320); the reading adopted by Y. and A.—*Vīndhyātata* “on the side of the Vindhya” agrees with other texts in meaning. The reading of S.—*chandākāra* remains isolated and inexplicable. *Kaliṅga* (22,3) is situated along the Bay of Bengal, to the north of the Godāvarī.

The list comes back to the region of Rohitaka (21,1) with *Srughna* (23,1), which is situated to the north of Rohtak and more immediately to the north of Thaneswar; the region is full of the memories of the Mahābhārata heroes. The tutelary Yakṣa of Srughna, Duryodhana, reminds of the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. So also *Arjunāvana* (23,4) and its tutelary Yakṣa, Arjuna, reminds of the son of Pāṇḍu, dear to Kṛṣṇa.

Of *Mardana* (24,1) and *Maṇḍapa* (24,2), it is difficult to know which is the name of the Yakṣa and which the name of the country. The translators also had the same embarrassment. *Mardana* seems to be the name of a man and *Maṇḍapa* that of the place. S. and T.

take them thus but the manuscripts and also Y. and A. take Mardana as the name of the place and Maṇḍapa as that of the Yakṣa.

*Mālava* (24,4) is one of the most well known geographical names of India. It still survives almost intact in the name of Malwa. The name of *Rohitāśva* (25,2) "red horses" is not mentioned anywhere else in literature. But it seems to have survived till today in the name of Rohtas or Rotas which is the name of a famous fort about 11 miles to the NW of the town of Jhelam. *Sākala* (25,4) has been identified by Fleet (*Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orient.*, 1905,164) with Sialkot to the ESE of Rohtas. *Sākala* played a considerable rôle in the history of the entire past of India. *Śauṭīraka* (26,1) "proud" is otherwise unknown. The translators had difficulty in separating the name of the Yakṣa here too. T. seems to have read in a compound: *sārtharāhadhaneśvaraḥ* "at Śauṭīraka, Palitaka is the lord of the wealth of the merchants". S.Y.A. have *Sārthavāha* and *Dhaneśvara* as the two tutelary Yakṣas of *Ajitaṃjaya* (27,1) is no better known than Śauṭīraka.

The *Vasāti* (27,4) or *Vasāti* are well known in the *Mahābhārata* which associate them with the *Sibi* (V,7609; VI, 688,2103; VII, 3254); they are in the neighbourhood of *Sibi* and *Gandhāra* (*ibid.* VI,2103); they are also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* on P., 4, 2, 52; the *Brhatsaṃhitā* of *Varāha-Mihira* places them between *Kaīkeya* and the sources of the *Jumna* (XIV,25) and bring them together with the *Arjunāyana*, the *Yaudheya* and the *Sibi* (XVII,19). Attempts have been made to identify them with the *Ossadioi* of the historians of Alexander. They inhabited certainly the Punjab above the confluence of the five rivers.

The translators did not understand the meaning of the word *ahara* in *Śivapurāhāra* (28,2); S. has transliterated it; Y. and A. have translated it without any anxiety for the real meaning as "food" which is the ordinary meaning of the word; T. according to his habit in similar cases, has given the meaning of the verb from which it is derived -*āhar*- "collect". In fact the word *āhāra* means an administrative division—a province. *Śivapura* is mentioned as a "village of the North" (*udīcyagrāma*) by the *Mahābhāṣya* on P., 4,2, vārt. 3.

*Bhīṣaṇa* (28,4), *Indrapura* (29,2), *Śilāpura* (29,4) [Y. and A. wrongly read *Śivapura*] and *Dārukapura* (30,2) are not known from any other source.

The name of the country of *Varṇu* (30,4) is mentioned by *Pāṇini*, 4,2,103; *Gaṇapāṭha* mentions it successively in the series: *Suvās-*

*trāḍi* on 4,2,77, *Sindhvādi*, 4,3,93, *Kacchādi*, 4,2,133; it occurs immediately after Suvāstu, the Swat, the Sindhu, the Indus and quite near Gandhāra. Really these are grammatical groupings but the same groupings in case of geographical names have the chance of being found either in the same region or near about. Pāṇini gives a special rule on the formation of the derivative of Kanthā when this name means a locality in the country of Varṇu. This locality occurs in another place in the itinerary of Buddha, in course of his journey in the North-West (see Przyluski, *Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde* J. As. 1914, II, 513). After crossing the Indus and going West, Buddha brings Apalāla to submission (about the source of the Swat; Hiuan-tsang, *Mém.* I, p. 133), then proceeds towards the future site of the stūpa of Kaniska, near Peshawar. A second step brings him to Kanthā, a third to Oḍḍiyāna (cf. *infra*, 97,4) in the Swat valley, a fourth to Revata where he converted the potter (*kumbhakāra*), sixth to the place where he converted the cowherd (*Gopāla nāgarāja*). The conversion of Gopāla is said to have taken place near Nagarāhāra (Hiuan-tsang, *Mém.* I, 99) above Peshawar, near Jelalabad. The site of Revata was certainly not far away. The Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra (*Ta che tu lun*, ch. 9; Tok. ed. XX,1, 62a) mentions them together in the same passage thus: "The Buddha Śākyamuni, born in the Jambudvīpa, lived at Kapilavastu; but frequently he went out to visit the six great cities of Eastern India. He also happened to go flying to South India. *Yi-eul* (Koṭikarṇa) received him there and paid him homage. He also happened to go to the Yue-che kingdom in Northern India. There he brought the dragon Apalāla to submission. Then going to the West of the Yue-che kingdom he brought a Rākṣasi to submission. Buddha lived in his cave during one night and even today Buddha's shadow remains there as before. Often people enter the cave to see it but do not succeed in having a view of it but on coming out of the opening, they see from a distance a light and signs like those of Buddha. Buddha happened to go flying to Ki-pin to the hill *Rṣi Li-po-t'o*. Holding himself in the sky he brought the Rṣi to submission. The Rṣi said: I like to live at this place. May Buddha leave to me one of his hairs and nails. He built a stūpa to pay him homage. The stūpa still remains". The translator of the text, Kumārajīva adds in a note: "At the foot of this mountain there is the monastery of *Li-yue*. It should be read as *Li-po-t'o*" (the whole of this passage has been reproduced in the *King liu yi siang*, ch. 6; Tok., ed. XXXVI, 2, 896). The 76th story of the Sūtrālaṅkāra of

Aśvaghoṣa glorifies a pious couple of Ki-pin who disputed with a king the honour of feeding the monks of the Revata monastery. The *Aśokāvadāna* (*Diryār.* XXVII, p. 339) while speaking of the places of retirement liked by saints, mentions "the city of Kāśmīra, Tamasāvana, Mahāvana and Revataka" (instead of *Rer° raje* as given by the editors and -*rathe* "the chariot of Revata", as read by Burnouf, we should read *ca ye*). The Mahāvana is certainly the Mahāban hill on the frontier of Yusufzai; it has been long since recognised as the Aornos of Alexander (cf. the note of Vincent Smith, in his *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., III, p.37). Mr. Stein has challenged this identification (*Report of Archaeological Survey work in the N.W. Frontier Province*, 1905, p. 28ff.). Alexander had established the base of his operations at Embolima, "the city near Aornos". Embolima of Arrian occurs in our text under the almost identical form Ambulima (92,4); it is modern Amb on the Indus. Between Mahāban and Amb, between the Swat and the Indus, the country of Buner certainly seems to correspond to Varṇu; the same name through a metatheses of r, which is so frequent, may well represent the ancient name. Aornos is clearly a Greek equivalent of Sanskrit Varṇu. It is probably this Varṇu which is mentioned by Ptolemy (VI,11,6) under the name Ouarnoi and placed by him in Bactria below the Tokharoi. It is difficult not to recognise a similar name in *Fa-la-na* of Hiuan-tsang (*Mém.* II, 184) which is Bannu of modern times (Stein, loc. laud., p. 4ff.). It is tempting to enquire if the country neighbouring on *Fa-la-na* of which the name is written as *A-fan-ch'a* (or *A-fan-t'u*) and in the She-kia-fang-che simply as *Fan-t'u* (or *Fan-ch'a*) is not the same as Bhaṇḍu, which the Gaṇapāṭha on 4, 2, 77 mentions by the side of Varṇu. The Gaṇapāṭha also mentions Khaṇḍu along with Varṇu and Bhaṇḍu. It may be mentioned in this connection that the name of the city of *Wu-to-kia-han-ch'a* which Hiuan-tsang visited on the Indus was first restored by Julien as Udakhāṇḍa. Watters subsequently proposed Udaka-khaṇḍa. Stein (*Zur Geschichte der Sāhis von Kabul* and later *Rājataranginī*, II, 11, 337) has shown that it is the same as Udabhāṇḍa which was the residence of the Sāhi kings. But it does not appear to be less probable that the two forms have been in parallel use; -bhāṇḍa and -khāṇḍa or with the optional change of the last character: *t'u* or *ch'a*) -bhāṇḍu and -khāṇḍu. While most of the authorities agree in identifying Udaka-bhāṇḍa with modern Und, about 15 miles to the north of Attok, Col. Deane (quoted by Foucher, *Notes sur la Géographie ancienne du*

*Gandhāra* B.E.F.E.O., I, 367, n.) "would like to find it in the village of Khunda about 6 miles to the north-west of Und". Und and Khund seem to perpetuate Bhaṇḍu and Khaṇḍu of the Gaṇapāṭha.

*Brahmavatī* (31,1) is not known; but the city which has for its protectors the Yakṣa king Maṇibhadra and his brother must be placed in the neighbourhood of Varṇu and Gandhāra. Gandhāra (32,2) is one of the most famous names applied to the region of Peshawar; *Takṣaśilā* (32,3), the city of king Taxiles is equally famous. Its site is identified with present Shahdheri. The nom of the locality that follows is difficult to find out. *Bhadraśaila* (33, 2) given by O. and D. closely reminds of the name Bhadraśilā which was the ancient name of Takṣaśilā according to the Avadāna of Candraprabha. (*Divyāv.* 328). H. gives Daśaśaila which remains completely isolated. Y. A. and T. have translated the words of the Sanskrit compound as "vomit-mountain" which has nothing corresponding in the Sanskrit manuscripts. S. transcribes it as *ch'o-t'o-she-lo*. The same character *ch'o* is used by S. to transcribe *chat* of Chattrākāra (50, 1) and Ahichattra (53, 1). By attaching the same value to it, we get in this case *chat-da* which may be correctly restored in Sanskrit as *charda* "vomit". The restoration is certain. The name of the tutelary Yakṣa deserves our attention. The first part of the name is everywhere the same: *khara* "ass". For the second, O. has *-posta*, confirmed by Y. (*pu-su-tu* = *posto* nom. masc.) but D. has *-yoma*, an unknown word which may probably be corrected as *-loma* "hairs", also confirmed by the transliteration of S. (*lu-mo*). A. and T. translate the word. The Tibetan *boñ bsrūñ sil* seem to show a fantastic analysis as *khara* (ass) + *pa* (protect) + ? (*sil*—cymbal?). A. translates it as "skin of ass". The word *posta* is not found in Sanskrit dictionaries; an analogous word *pusta* which is found does not mean "skin"; it may mean "model" or "manuscript". But Gauthiot has recently studied the Sanskrit word *pustaka* (*Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique*, XIX, 1915, p. 130) and has pointed out that its probable origin is in Iranian *pōst* (Avesta, *pasta*, Pahl. *pōst*, Pers. *pust*) "skin"; the *pustaka* first was written on skins. The name Kharaposta and its translation as given by Amoghavajra proves that the Iranian word was known, understood and used in India. It is interesting to find a name of purely Iranian origin being given to a tutelary Yakṣa of the region of Takṣaśilā where Iranian influence used to be always exerted.

*Hanumātīra* (34,2), as given by the manuscripts, is also supported by T.; the manuscript D. had already introduced this name un-

expectedly in v.4, 3. *Anāhatīra* of S. is only a scribe's mistake (confusion between *ha* and *pa* is easy in Gupta writing) for *Anūpa* as given by Y. and A. both of whom take it to be the name of a river. The name *Anūpa* is principally applied to the sea-shore near *Surāṣṭra* (cf. *Mahābhārata*, VI, 336=Viṣṇu P., II, p. 169, Wilson-Hall; Inscription of *Rudradāman* at *Girnar*).

*Rauruka* (34,3) has survived only in Buddhist tradition. It appears as a city of *Suavīra* in the list of the seven great cities occurring in the *Mahā Govindasutta* of the *Dighanikāya* (XIX); this list is not found in the Chinese translation of the corresponding *Sūtra* of the *Dirghāgama* (Tok. ed. XII, 9, 27a) but it is found in a separate translation of the same *sūtra* given by *She-hu* (Nanj., 993, Tok. XII, 10, 50a); the *Mahāvāstu* has a Sanskrit redaction of the text, III,208. The destruction of the city, certainly connected with other great events, had a tragic character and struck the imagination of the people. It was another Sodom which was struck by the wrath of Heaven. The *Vinaya* of the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda* recounts at length the story of its destruction: it is the *Rudrāyaṇāvādāna* (*Divyāv.* XXXVII); if we believe this account, *Rauruka* was a rival of *Pāṭliputra* in the days of Buddha." There are two great cities—*Pāṭliputra* and *Rauruka*. When *Pāṭliputra* prospers, *Rauruka* declines". For having offended *Kātyāyana*, the king, his subjects, were all covered by a rain of dust. While returning from *Rauruka* to *Srāvastī*, *Kātyāyana*, passed by *Lampāka* (36, 3), *Vokkāṇa* (99, 2) and crossed the *Indus*. Thus the tradition, in the form in which it was collected by the *Vinaya* of the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda* (a *Vinaya* which was certainly of Kashmirian origin) shifted *Rauruka* from the banks of the *Indus* where lived the *Sauvīras*, to the far North-West. When *Hsuan-tsang* passed through the city of *P'imo*, about 330 li to the east of *Khotan*, the people of the country showed him a miraculous statue of Buddha in sandal wood which came from *Rauruka* (cf. Huber—*La destruction de Rauruka*, B.E.F.E.O. 1906, p. 335; M. Huber was able to recognise the name of *Rauruka* in the transcription *Ha-lao-lo-kia* which had misled *Julien* and *Watters*). "Today, says *Hsuan-tsang*, the city of *Ha-lao-lo-kia* is no more than a vast waste land. A large number of kings and powerful personages of foreign countries imbibed the desire of excavating it in order to take away the precious objects that it might have; but when they reached the frontier of this city, all on a sudden a furious wind started, black clouds obscured the sky and they could not find their way back." M. Huber has

with good reason drawn attention to a legend of the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* in regard to the destruction of Rauruka: in the time of Buddha Kasyapa, the kingdom of Khotan, had suffered under the same conditions from an identical catastrophe as that of Rauruka. "In those days, the kingdom of Khotan was called *Kia-lo-sha-mo*". It has not been as yet noticed that this very name occurs in the account of the Sanskrit Vinaya; Kātyāyana going out of Rauruka, passed by the village (*karaṭaka*) of Khara, then by Lampāka and at last by the country of Śyamāka before reaching Vokkāṇa (99.2). The country of Śyamāka is also mentioned among the countries of the North-West by the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, XIV, 28. It is certainly identical with Sho-mi of Song-yun (Chavannes—B.E.F.E.O., 1903, p. 406), the Pei-she (*ibid.*) and the T'ang-shu (Chavannes—*Documents* p. 159) and with *Shang-mi* of Hiuan-tsang (*Mém.* II, 206). The place under these names has been identified with Chitral by Vivien de Saint-Martin and Chavannes on good grounds. Hiuan-tsang mentions a tradition (concerning Kapilavastu, *Mém.*, I, 318) according to which the founder of the kingdom of *Shang-mi* would be one of the four Sākyas banished by the clan for having fought with Virūḍhaka. The Ekottarāgama which gives the story in detail (chap. 26, Tok. ed. XII, 2, 31a) gives the name of *Sho-mi* to this Sākya; the Chu yao king (Tok. ed. XXIV, 5, 476) which gives a summary of the story, calls him *Sho-ma*. *Sho-mo*, *Sho-ma* both are normal transcriptions of Śyāma. Che-mong who passed through Khotan also picked up the name *Kia-lo-sho-mo*; from his account which is now lost, the name was taken into the Fan-fa-yu where it is translated as *man yin king* "full eagle gold". The first part of the name *khara* may in fact mean "marine eagle" but I do not know how *kin* "gold" can be a translation of *śyamāka* or *śyāma*. The character *sho* adopted by Che-mong however is used precisely to render *śya* in *śyāma* (Julien—*Méthode*, no—64 and *supra*). Thus from the beginning of the 5th century (Che-mong travelled between 404-424) the legend of the disaster that befell *Kia-lo-sho mo* = Khara-śyāmāka was localised in Serindia. The Vinaya connects, in an unexpected tradition, the destruction of Rauruka with the foundation of Bharukaccha, the great port of the Narmadā (*supra*, 17, 2). The founder of Bharukaccha, Bhiru, was a former minister of the king of Rauruka who succeeded in escaping in a ship filled with precious objects! It is really unfortunate that the redactor of the Avadāna did not think giving an itinerary of Bhiru's ship.



*Nandivardhana* (35, 3) has, since long, fallen in oblivion. The Sanskrit literature ignores the name but other texts allow us to have a glimpse of its past which was not without glory. The Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda leads Buddha to that place during his journey in North-Western India; he went there after his victory over Apalāla, after his visit to Kanthā and Revata and before reaching Kuntī and the place where the temple of Kaniska was to be later built. It was therefore between the source of the Swat and Peshawar. Our list inserts the name between Rauruka and Lampāka (Lamghan, *infra* 36,3) and thus assigns to it an analogous position. The city was certainly situated in the valley of the mountains. It occurs in the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya (chap. 9; Tok. ed XV,8,68b) among the four kingdoms which supplied the most precious wool. The other three were: Vaiśālī, Puṣkalāvātī and Takṣaśīlā. The Candragarbha-sūtra cf. for this text: *Quelques documents sur le bouddhisme indien dans l'Asie Centrale*, B.E.F.E.O., 1905, p. 230) places Nandivardhana among the nine countries presided over by the Nakṣatra Śatabhiṣaj. In the said list it occurs just between *Kiu-ch'a-p'o* and *P'o-lu-kia*. The transcription *Kiu-ch'a-p'o* certainly represents the name of the country which the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda mentions as the last step of Buddha immediately before his visit of Nandivardhana. In Chinese and Tibetan this name is translated as "the guardian of the heap". Having regard to the ordinary equivalences of the Chinese characters, I restored the name in Sanskrit as Kūṭapa which is now confirmed. It is at Kūṭapa that Buddha converted the dragon-king Gopāla, according to the account of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya. Hiuan-tsang (*Mém.* I, 99) places the scene of conversion in the famous Shadow-Cave, situated at 20 li to the SW of Nagarahāra. Nagarahāra is near Jelalabad on the road from Lampāka (Lamghan) to Peshawar. It is between Jelalabad and Peshawar that we should search for Nandivardhana. The Buddha converted there the king Devabhūti (or Bhūtideva) and his family, the seven sons of the Caṇḍālī (cf. *Divyāv.* 348), the two Yakṣī, Nalikā and Nalodayā. Near the city was found a large lake (this indication might help us in locating the place); the Yakṣa, protector of the lake and also the dragons, Aśvaka and Punarvasu who inhabited the lake, received the teachings of the Master on solicitation. Even in order to help in the salvation of the two Nāgas, Bhagavat consented to leave his shadow in the lake. Nandivardhana also possessed one of the places held sacred in Mahāyāna, one of those *pīṭhas* predestined to serve

perpetually as the place of sojourn for Bodhisattvas who preach the law to all beings without relaxation; it is "the grotto of the Respected One". The Avataṃsaka which glorifies this grotto in its enumeration of pīṭhas, place Nandivardhana after *Chen-tan*, *Shu-le*, *Kia-she-mi-lo* and immediately before *An-fou-li-mo*, and *Kien-t'o-lo* (B.E.F.E.O., II, 247-248). The ancient translation of the Avataṃsaka by Buddhābhaddra (between 399 and 421) says: "*Nan-t'i-po-t'an-na* has a place of residence called *Ti-lo-fou-ho*; the Bodhisattvas go there and live constantly" (Tok. ed. I, 8, 46b). The new translation of Śikṣānanda (695-699) has; "The city called Increase-Joy (*tseng ch'ang huan hi*) has a place of residence called Grotto of the Respected One: *tsun-cho-k'u* (Tok. ed. I, 8, 22b). The Sūryagarbha-sūtra and Candragarbha-sūtra, both translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśas, which bear signs of Serindian inspiration and origin (B.E.F.E.O., V, 226ff.) contain lists of pīṭhas in which the famous grotto reappears. The Candragarbha (Tok. ed. III, 4, 62a), in a list of 25 pīṭhas, mentions as the 20th the Grotto of Great Virtue—*ta to k'u*, but it does not speak of the site. But by a singular deviation which seems to be more than accidental, the Sūryagarbha mentions at the head of the list and in the first rank (Tok. ed. III, 3, 52b) of the pīṭhas of Jambudvīpa, "Nandivardhana (*Nan-t'o-p'o-t'o-na*), the residence of the muni, of the holy man of Great Virtue (*ta-to*), which the dragon-king Yen-fou-kia (Jambuka) protects, guards and respects". Here Nandivardhana is mentioned before Vaiśālī which is placed in the second rank and Kapilavastu which is placed in the third. The transcription given by Buddhābhaddra helps us to reconstruct precisely the original name of the holy place, it is translated as *tsun-cho* "Respected" or as *ta-to* "Great Virtue" which is the ordinary equivalent of "bhadranta"; *ti-lo* corresponds to *thera* (cf. infra 99, 3 in the word Ramaṭheṣu), *fou-ho* is a wrong reading of the translator who made a mistake about the first syllable of the word *guhā* "cave" which is regularly translated by *k'u*. The place was known as Theraguhā (Sthaviraguhā). The name reminds of Therogonos about which a strange story is found in the Book of Rivers, attributed to Plutarch (this is a simple collection of notes put together by an editor who was unintelligent and obsessed by the story of wonders). While speaking of the Hydaspes, an affluent of the Indus (Vitastā, modern Beas), the author says (I, 5): "they also bury, each year, alive, an old woman condemned to death near the hillock called Therogonos; then run down from above the hill a large number of reptiles and serpents which devour

the dumb animals flying around. The same thing is written by Chrysermos (of Corinthia) in Book LXXX of the History of India. Archelaos makes more direct mention of it in Book III of the Rivers. "Whatever may be the value of the account, the name seems to be authentic and the mention of "old" testifies to the equivalence *Thero-Prakrit therō*. A Chinese priest, Huei-wan (Nanj. App. III, no. 32) who composed towards 700 a glossary on the new translation of the Avatamsaka by Śikṣānanda between 695 and 699 (*Hua yen king yin yi*; Nanj. 1606, Tok. ed. XXXIX, 10) has given another reference to Nandivardhana in his text. In the 76th chapter of his translation (Tok. ed. I, 4, 75a, col. 5; section on *ju fa kiai*—dharma-dhātāvātāra, chap. 39, sect. 17), Śikṣānanda thus translates the original: "In the kingdom of *Mo-kia-t'i* (Magadha), there is a group of habitations; there is a city called P'o-tsiu-na. There is an Upāsikā named Hien-shang (Bhadrottamā). Huei-wan (chap. *hia*, p. 1 28a end) annotates the passage thus: "This is *Nan-t'o-p'o-t'an-na* *Nan-t'o* means 'joy', *p'o-t'an-na* means 'increasing, abundance'. This city is found in the kingdom of *Mo-kie* (Magadha) as is said in the original sūtra". I do not know on what information, Huei-wan, a contemporary of Śikṣānanda, has thus corrected the translation. In fact Śikṣānanda reproduced the older translation of Buddhābhadrā (Tok. ed. I, 9, 84b, line 5; chap. 57). Prāñña (Nanj. App. II, 156) who gave in 796-798 a new translation of the last section of the Avatamsaka after the manuscript sent by the king of *Wu-ch'a* (Uḍa) of Southern India to the Emperor of China (Nanj. 89; Tok. ed. I, 6 42b; 1 17) has introduced here slight changes in the translation: "In this kingdom of *Mo-kia-t'i*, there is a group of habitations; its name is 'having meaning', *yu yi*, (sārtha). There is a city there called *P'o-t'an-na* (*t'an* as given by Huei-wan instead of *tsiu* of Buddhābhadrā and Śikṣānanda). There is an Upāsikā at that place called *Tsuei shang hien* (Uttamābhadra)". *P'o-t'an-na* may well represent Vardhana but that is no reason why it should be made to represent Nandivardhana as done by Huei-wan. Doubtless there were other localities with the same name. Thus the Deoli plates of Kṛṣṇa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, dated 862 Śaka=940-941 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.* V, 188 ff) speaks of the octroi of a village called Tālapuruiṣaka situated in the district of Nāgapura Nandivardhana. Nāgapura is Nagpur in the Central Provinces. Mr. Hira Lal (*ibid.* IX, 43) tells us that Nandivardhana is the modern villages of Nagardhana 5 miles from Ramtek, north of Nagpur.

For the name of Nandivardhana, the D. manuscript substitutes *Hingumardana*. Saṁghabhaṭa reads *Hinguvardhana* which is a compromise between the two readings. Amoghavajra who usually follows the text of Yi-tsing with a regular fidelity, departs from the rule in this case and adopts the reading *hi (m) gumardana*. Amoghavajra had before him the text of Yi-tsing; he probably knew the city of Nandivardhana; the names of the tutelary Yakṣas, Nandi and Vardhana, seem to guarantee the reading Nandivardhana. If he preferred to read *Hingumardana* in spite of the names of the Yakṣas, it was because he admitted the real identity of the two names. *Hingumardana* and Nandivardhana were names of the same city. This hypothesis will appear as more probable. The only mention of *Hingumardana* that I could find is in the *Avadānakalpalatā*, avad. 56. The poet, Kṣemendra recounts there in his usual manner, both edifying and commonplace, the story of the conversion of the Nāga, Gopāla; “Bhagavat, disappeared from the place where resided the Yakṣa Dharāmukha (Tib. *kha rnon* ‘shape of the blade of knife’) and in an instant he reached the city of *Hingumardana* (the name is simply transcribed in Tibetan)”. The king of the country who was called Brahmadatta piously welcomed the Master; the inhabitants came to speak of the harm that the Nāga caused to their domestic animals, to the peoples and to the harvest. Bhagavat went to the “border of the village” (*nagarasyānte*) to the Pāṣāṇa hill (Tib. *rdo* “stone”) to the side of the lake “which seem to be blackened by the poisonous respiration of the monster”; he sat there peacefully. In vain did the Nāga show its fury; at last the gods of the forest (*vanadevatāḥ*) intervened and brought about an agreement; he surrendered. In response to his prayer “the conqueror made it incumbent on him to remain always in his house” (*satatam tasya bhavane samnidhim vidadhe jinaḥ*). This is precisely the story of Gopāla as told by Hiuan-tsang in regard to the Shadow-Cave of Nagarāhāra. Nandivardhana had also its cavern and its shadow of Buddha. The name itself of *Hingumardana* contains an appreciable geographical precision. The word means “grinding of *hingū*”. The *hingū* (*Ferula asa foetida*, Hoernle, *Index of Bower Manuscript*) was a condiment much liked by the Indians. The tree that yields it, does not grow in India. That is what is said by the Botanists. It is found only in Persia and Afghanistan. The *Amarakośa* (II, 9, 40) which is faithfully reproduced by Hemacandra (422), in fact, gives *vālhika* and *rāmāṭha* as synonyms of *hingū*. These two geographical names will be found

later (96, 2 and 99, 3). Both of them lead to the North-West Frontier of India. Hiuan-tsang mentions the kingdom of *Tsao-kiu-ch'a* as the real country of hiŋgu. This was the first country he passed through after crossing the Indian frontier on his way back towards China. "The soil is favourable for the cultivation of the plant *yo-kin* (saffron) and of what is called *hing-kiu* (hiŋgu). This last grows in the valley of *Lo-mo-yin-tu*". Vivien de Saint-Martin discovered in this transcription the name of the Helمند river. He also identified Ho-si-na, the capital of *Tsao-kiu-ch'a* with the city of Ghazna. The name of the kingdom has not yet been clearly recognised. Julien, hypothetically restored it as *Tsäukoŭta*. Marquart (*Eranshahr*, 285) says: "*Tsau-ku-ta* belongs to that class of hybrid transcriptions of Indian compounds in which one of the elements is phonetically reproduced whereas the other is translated. *Ku-ta* is Sanskrit *kūṭa* 'top', *tsau* is the name of the country which is taken from the Sui-shu... *Tsau* and *tsau-li* (another name of the same country according to a note on Hiuan-tsang's text) are abridged transcriptions of the word *jawuwa jabula* (which is the old Turkish title *yabgu*)". Watters however had already said (II, 266): "as the first character also read *Chao* (or *Cho*) we may without doing violence to the Chinese characters restore the word as *Jāguḍa*, the name of country, famous for its saffron". He recalled in this connection that the Saffron Tope near the Bodhi tree had been built by a caravan chief coming from the country of *Tsao-ku-t'a*. The Śiśupālavadhā (20, 3) mentions "the saffron of *Jāguḍa*" (*Jāgudakuṇkuma*); on the other hand, the Mahābhārata (III, 51, 1991) places the *Jāguḍa* between the Tukhāra (Tokharestan) and the Ramaṭha (*infra*, 99, 3), mixed up with the peoples to the west of India: Pahlava, Darada, Yavana, Śaka, Hārahūna and Cīna. It is interesting to be able to verify even on such a small detail the degree of reality and precision attained by the geography of the Mahābhārata. Another text solves the problem to our satisfaction. The *Fan yu tse tien* (chap. 10), in fact, quotes on the word hiŋgu, the following passage from *Yin-yi* of Hiuan-ying (chap. 19): "The hiŋgu comes from the kingdom of *Sho-wu-ch'a-p'o-t'o-na*. The people of the country eat it constantly. In this country (China), the tradition says that hiŋgu is *yun-t'ai*. This is not correct. It is the juice of a tree and is like the gum of the peach tree. The people of Western country prepare a food with it." This passage is missing from our text of the *Yin-yi* of Hiuan-ying, chap. 19 (ch. 18 of the Corean and Tokyo edition). The *Yin-yi* commenting on

the Abhidharmavibhāṣā (Tok. ed. XXXIX, 7, 70b, 1 11-12) simply says: "It is the juice of a tree. It is used in Western countries in food". The *Yin-yi* of Huei-lin, ch. 68, commenting on the Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā (Tok. ed. XXXIX, 9, 184a) says still more simply: "Hing-kiu is a Sanskrit word. In the language of the T'ang it is called *a-wei*. Whatever may be the source of quotation given in the *Fan yu tse tien*, it mentions as the land of hiṅgu the kingdom of *Sho-wu-ch'a-p'o-t'o-na* which corresponds in Sanskrit to Jā-gu-ḍa-va (r)-dha-na—. The equivalence of *Tsau-kiu-ch'a* and Jāguḍa proposed by Watters therefore may be put forward as definite. The name of the country was of the same type as Nandivardhana. We are thus brought back, once more, through an apparently organic alteration, from Hiṅgumardana to Nandivardana through the intermediate form of Hiṅguvardhana given by S. In another extremity of India we find another name of the same type: Puṇḍravardhana (cf. *infra.*, 41, 1.). In any case Jāguḍa corresponds to Zabul (or Zabulistan) of the Arab geographers.

It is quite probable that city of Hiṅgumardana is the same as *Indikomordana* of Ptolemy (VI, 12, 6). It is placed in Sogdiana between the Jaxartes and the Oxus, not far from Alexandria Oxiane. The name of hiṅgu was likely to be changed into Indiko—in the mouth of a foreigner. It is also strongly probable that the name of Jāguḍa should be identified with *Isagouroi* (*Ithagouroi*) of Ptolemy. The Greek geographer mentions them twice: VI, 16, 5, on the route to Serike (China), in the neighbourhood of the Kasia range, below the Issedones, not far from Asmiraia i.e. near the Pamirs towards Kashmir and the sources of the Oxus; and VII, 1, 45, he places in the country of Arsa (Urasa), beside Taxiala (Taksasila), the city of *Isagouros* (*Ithagouros*). Ptolemy usually renders the sonant lingual by *r*. The notation *Is* or *Ith*—, if my identification is correct, deserves attention. It shows that in order to transcribe a spirant which was wanting in Sanskrit (in which it is approximately a *j*) they used the combination *is* which characterise in a striking manner the writing of the Serindian languages (*J. As.* 1915. I, Proceedings). Ptolemy, faithful to his usual method, has put together Isagouroi of one itinerary and Isagouros of another, without enquiring if it was one and the same name. This is specially common in his description of the region of the Paropanisades, the Hindukush.

Jāguḍa, however obscure it may appear to us, had its days of glory. The T'ang Annals (Chavannes—*Documents sur les Tou-kiue*

*occidentaux*, p. 160) mention it officially under the name *Sie-yu*. The Empress Wu (684-704) had given it this new name to replace the ancient one. This name has not yet been explained. There is however a long page of history on it which has not yet been properly studied. I had already occasion to make a passing reference (*Le Tokharien B, langue de Koutcha*, *J. As.* 1913, II, p. 330) to the fact that *Sie* is the transcription of the Turco-Indian title *Sāhi*. The Viceroy of the Yue-che, defeated by Pan-ch'ao in 90 A.D. already bore this title. The word *yu* means "violent wind". The Empress therefore described Jāgudā as "the tempest of the Sāhi". This title is better understood when we consider the fact that the king of Sie-yu received in 720 the title of "the king of Kapiśa" from the Chinese court. Kapiśa was the proper land of the Turk Sāhis. The dynasty succumbed to this tempest and a new dynasty of Brahmin Sāhis was established on the bank of the Indus at Udakabhāṇḍa. The triumph of Sie-yu announced the thrust of the Arabs. Formerly "Kapiśa recruited the youth of the Sie-yu to oppose the Ta-she (Arabs) with arms in hands". (*T'ang-shu* Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 161). Later on, it was from the same Jāgudā that Mahmud of Ghazni went forward to the conquest of India.

The hingu of Jāgudā did not have a free access to the Indian kitchen. A foreign product had to fight against the popular dislike for it. The Vinaya of the Little Vehicle prescribes only onion (*Cullavagga*, V, 34); the Jain code of discipline does the same thing (*Āyārāṅga sutta*, II, 1,8,13), the Brahmanical code of Manu (V, 3) which is later than the other sources, prohibits the use of onion, garlic and eschalot. Even in the time of Hiuan-tsang (*Mém.*, I, 92) "the plants of strong smell such as onion and garlic are rare; there are very few people who eat them. If they use it in their house they are expelled beyond the city wall". Towards the end of the 7th century, Yi-tsing still speaks of the Indian dislike for onion (*Record*, Takakusu, pp. 44-45; 137-138); the poor Chinese pilgrim humbly confesses that he was almost tempted to take it but he expiated for it; "onion is disturbing for the practice of fast; it does harm to the stomach and the eyes". When the Great Vehicle fixed its code of discipline at a later period, hingu was allowed for use. The *Mṛcchakatikā* seems to ridicule the use of hingu. The Śākāra takes pride that the charm of his voice was due to the use of hingu (*Act VIII*, ed. Stenzler, p. 117); but the Śākāra is not only grotesque but is also a foreigner, an intruder coming from the West like the hingu. The

Mahābhārata (XIII, 91, 4363) forbids the offering to the dead (*Śrāddha*) of such food as may be prepared with hingu. But the Hari-vamśa (8443) is not afraid of introducing hingu in the dishes at Kṛṣṇa's feast at Dvārāvati. The Brahmajāla Sūtra which is a code of discipline for the Bodhisattvas, formally prohibits the use of five bitter plants in the 4th Sikṣāpāda (De Groot—*Code de Mahāyāna*, p. 42). The fifth of these forbidden plants is *hing-k'iu*=hingu; the others are carrot and three kinds of onion. But although hingu was popular in India only, the Chinese did not know it. So the list of five *acid* plants did not trouble the casuist much. The *Song kao seng chuan* (Tok. ed. XXXV, 5, 103a, chap. 29) has preserved the report of a strange consultation due to a monk called *Huei-je*. The person himself is also interesting. His name should be added to the already long list of Chinese pilgrim who visited India. He was born in 680. The example of the great pilgrim Yi-tsing attracted his imagination and he also wished to go to the Holy Land. He passed three years travelling on the sea, was at Kun-lun, Fo-she and Ceylon. Last, he reached India, visited the holy places, worshipped them and searched for Sanskrit texts. He passed in India thirteen years. Then he passed four years more, travelling alone in Snow Mountains and in the Hu villages. He was tired, disgusted with the world and asked where one could find complete happiness, where one could see the Buddha. The teachers whom he asked about it all highly spoke of the Pure land Sukhāvati, the heaven of Amitābha. He then went to the kingdom of Gandhāra; to the north-west of the capital there was a large mountain with an image of Avalokiteśvara (Cf. Hiuan-tsang, *Mém*, 1, 140). He took the vow of praying to him without stop till the appearance of the God. He remained seven days without taking any food. At last on the 7th day towards the end of the night, Avalokiteśvara showed in the sky an image of red golden colour, more than ten feet high. The god was seated on a lotus made of stones. With his right hand he touched the top of his head and said: "You wish your own good as well as that of others. In the West, the Pure Land of Sukhāvati is the kingdom of Amita Buddha. Fix your thought on that Buddha, recite the Sūtra and take the vow of taking your birth there; when you reach that kingdom, you will see the Buddha and I shall come to your help. Know that the doctrine of the Pure Land is higher than many other practices". Having thus spoken, Avalokiteśvara disappeared. In spite of his seven day's fast, the monk felt strong. He crossed the hills for going back to the



East, passed through more than 70 kingdoms and reached Ch'ang-ngan in 719. He started since then to propagate the doctrine of Pure Land. He took up the tradition of Shen-tao who about 650 had taught with brilliant success that salvation could be obtained through Sukhāvati. Hsuei-je states that numerous monks were embarrassed on the subject of hingu which is found in the list of five bitter plants. It was supposed to be the plant called *yun-t'ai* or *hu-ts'ai* or *a-wei*. Hsuei-je corrects this mistake and says; "It is said that in China we have only four of the five acid plants viz. garlic, carrot, onion and eschalot. The fifth, hingu, is not found here. Hing-kiu is a Sanskrit word, wrongly written. It should be *ing-kiu* (*ingul*). It is not found in other kingdoms. It is only on reaching the region of *Yu-t'ien* (Khotan) that we may find it. The root is fat like the root of a small turnip. It is also white. It has the smell of garlic. The people of this kingdom take it as food". In regard to its branches and leaves, Hsuei-je did not know anything, as he passed through that country in winter. In any case neither *yun-t'ai* nor *hu-ts'ai* was among the five acid plants and they could be eaten without committing any sin.

The name of the country that follows (36, 2) is very uncertain; it is difficult to choose without any positive evidence between *Vāpi-Bhāmīya* O., *Vāyibhūtiya* H., *Vāghubhāmīya* S., *Vāyubhāmīya* D., and *Vāyibhāmīya* Y.A.T. This unknown name has to be searched for between the region of Ghazni and the Kabul river as the next name leads us to the Kabul valley to the country of Lamghan or Laghman. The site of *Lampāka* (36, 3) has been in fact identified since long. Ptolemy (VII, 1, 42) places *Lambatai* below the sources of the Koas (the Kabul-rud); it is with this, that he commences his description of the territories and cities of India. Hiuan-tsang who visited the country (*Mém.*, ch. 2, p. 95) also considers it as the border of India. "Going from the country of Kapiśā...he crossed the mountains, entered the frontiers of Northern India and reached the kingdom of Lan-po". The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-vinaya connects the origin of this name with the legend of Mahā Kātyāyana and the city of Rauruka. When the saint abandoned the accursed city, he brought with him Śyāmāka, the young son of the pious minister Hiru. "The Respected one told the child, my child, catch hold of the end of my robe". He took the end of the robe and the holy man went through the sky by virtue of his magic power carrying the young Śyāmāka with him (*Divyāv.* XXXVII, p. 577 *Mūla Sarvās. vinaya*, Tok. ed

XVI, 9, 98b). Śyāmāka hang from the end of the robe. On finding this, peasants and the shepherds loudly cried out: *Lambate! Lambate!* (he hangs). Hence came the use of the word Lambakapāla as the name of the people of that country (*ibid.*, 579; the Chinese translation of Yi-tsing, XVI, 9, 98b, : The people who saw him cried out—*Lan-po-ti*, *Lan-po-ti* [which means: he is hanging] and for this reason the territory which they crossed came to be called *Lan-po*. Yi-tsing adds in a note—“this country is still found in Northern India”). It is not without interest and bearing to note that the pretended etymology of the name suggests a pronunciation with the labial sonant, like the Greek transcription of Ptolemy while the sonant, labial is used in Sanskrit Lampāka. The Mahābhārata (VII, 122, 4847) mentions the Lampāka by the side of Darada, Taṅgana, Khaśa and Pulinda. According to the dictionary of Hemacandra (960), Lampāka has for its synonym Muruṇḍa. I had occasion to study this name in the *Mélanges Ch. de Harlez*.

For our list, as for Hiuan-tsang, Lampāka is clearly the frontier of India. Arrived at this point it suddenly retraces its steps and goes back as far as *Mathurā* (37, 1). It may be remembered that Buddha also, according to the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya and the Aśokāvadāna, returns to Mathurā after his excursion in the North-West (see Przyluski, *J. As.* 1914, II, p. 518). He predicts there the foundation of the Nāṭabhaṭa monastery and the birth of Upagupta. This holy precedent might have determined the present itinerary. Mathurā on the Jumna is *Μοδουρα η των θεων* of Ptolemy (VII, 1,47) who places it in the kingdom of Kaspeiraioi (Kashmir) which extended up to the Ouindios (Vindhya). It has always been translated as “Mathurā of the Gods” and in that connection references have been made to the exploits of Kṛṣṇa and to the Buddhist and Jaina monuments. But Ptolemy does not at all concern himself with either religion or theology. His lists do not present any analogous case. Besides the mention remains strange and vague. On the other hand he often adds to the name of cities a reference to the king who resides there or owns it. His *Μοδουρα η των θεων* seems to go in pair with *Μοδουρα βασιλειον πανδιονος* (VII, 1, 89). It is distinguished from the other by this qualification. The informer of Ptolemy had certainly translated in this way, as correctly as possible in Greek the title *devaputra* “Son of God” of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. The kingdom of Kaspeiraici doubtless meant the Indian possession of this dynasty.

From Mathurā our list by a new jump, goes to another extremity of

India, the island of the Rākṣasas, *Laṅkā* (37, 3) i.e. Ceylon which will occur again (89, 3) under the name of *Siṃhala*. The attraction for the southern Mathurā, Pāṇḍyamāthura (39, 3) must have been responsible for this new orientation. Besides, before reaching there finally, the list mentions Sūna and Kośala. *Sūna* (38, 1) is not known. Hiuan-tsang mentions (*Mém.*, I, 47; II, 188) a god called *Sūna* who was worshipped at *Tsao-kiu-ch'a* (Jāguda see *supra*). Julien first restored the original name as *Sōūna* (I, 47) but later substituted for it *Kchouṇa* (II, 188); Watters (II, 265) reads *Shu* or *Chu-na*. Nevertheless a note added to the text of Hiuan-tsang clearly indicates the pronunciation as *S(i+k) cou=Seou* for the character.

*Kośala* (38, 4) is a country of classical importance in Indian geography. It is the country of Ayodhyā, modern Oudh. Ms. D. gives the variant *Sthūlaka*. This was also the original of S. and might have been an authentic form. The Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini (4. 2, 80) speaks on the formation of the name *Sthūlaka* in a series of names belonging to Northern India.

*Pāṇḍyamāthura* (39, 3) is *Μοδουρα βασιλειον πανδιονος* of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 80). This is modern Madura. The Pāṇḍyas are connected with this region since time immemorial. The Mahābhārata mentions them more than once among the people of the far South (II, 30, 1174; III, 8339, etc.). *Malaya* (40, 1) is the mountain chain which has given its name to Malabar. It is the land of sandal wood, so familiar in Sanskrit literature. *Kerala* (40, 3) is the Malabar coast (Mahābhārata I, 6685; VI, 366, etc); this name which is otherwise well known has been variously deformed by the translators. S. makes it *Keraka* which Y. abbreviates as *Kera* for metrical reasons. The form *Keraka* is also found in the Mahābhārata (II, 1173, Cal. Ed.; the Bombay ed. reads *Kerala*). A. reads *Kerata*, a name that is otherwise unknown. T., which had little knowledge of South, introduces here *Kailāsa*! The *Paṇḍra* (41, 1) is already mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (under the simple form of *Puṇḍra*) among the "border" peoples on the frontier of the Aryan world with the Andhras and Śabarās. While the Andhras were able to found a great kingdom the others remained in a half-savage state. The Mahābhārata mentions the *Puṇḍras* in the list of people foreign to Brahmanism (I, 6684; XII, 2430; XIII, 2158). Manu does the same (X, 44) and mentions in addition the *Uḍra* of Orissa. Varāha Mihira (*Bṛhat Sam.* XIV, 7) mentions together *Paṇḍra* and *Utkala*, *Utkala* being another name of Orissa. The three Chinese translators of whom each has given a different trans-

cription all read *Paṇḍa*, instead of *Paundra*. It may be noted that the *Mahābhārata* also (II, 119) mentions *Paundra* and *Pāṇḍa*, side by side, and connects the latter with *Uḍra* (*tath-Āṅga-Vaṅgau saha Puṇḍrakena Pāṇḍ-Odrarājau ca sah-Āndhrakena*). It is therefore risky to correct at once *Pāṇḍa* as *Pāṇḍya* as did Bohtlingk and Roth (s.v.).

*Pitaṅgalya* (42, 1) otherwise completely unknown. But its position in the list suggests an identification with *Petirgala* which Ptolemy (VII, 1, 83) locates near *Banaouasei* (*Vanavāsī infra*, 46, 3) but nearer still to *Baithana* as regards distance. It is likely that *Pitaṅgalya*-*Petirgala* is the same locality as *Pitalkhora*. Burgess has described the Buddhist cave-temples of the place (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. IV; for the inscriptions, cf. Lüders—*List*, 1187-1193). *Pitalkhora* is situated about 18 miles West of *Chalisgaon* (*Khandesh*) in the *Nizam's* territory, north of *Paithan* and North-east of *Nasik* (43, 1). *Taraṅga-vatī* (42, 3) is not known; S. and A. who transcribe the name instead of translating it like Y. and T., abbreviates it as *Tarūṅgati*. *Nāsikya* (43, 1) is modern *Nasik* near the sources of the *Godāvarī*; the antiquity and the importance of the city are proved by the underground temples, inscriptions and texts. The *Mahābhāṣya* on *Pāṇini* (6, 1, 63) mentions "the city of *Nāsikya*". Ptolemy calls it *Nasika* (VII, 1, 63). *Bharukaccha* (43, 4) is present *Broach* on the estuary of the *Narmadā*. It has already been mentioned above (17, 1). *Nandika* (44, 1) is given as the name of *Yakṣa* by ms. D., by S. A. and T.; but the ms. O and H. also Y. make it the name of a place. *Karahātaka* (44, 4) is also mentioned by the *Mahābhārata* (II, 1173) among the countries of the south between *Vanavāsī* and *Pāṇḍya* (cf. also *Yāśastilaka*, *Kāvyamālā* ed. II, 182) where *Somadevasūri* describes *Karahāṭa* (*thusitaś cāsti khalu Vindhyaḍ dakṣiṇasyām diśi Tridaśadeśāśrayaśrīkaṭaḥ Karahāṭo nāma janapadaḥ*). It is modern *Karad* (*Karhād*) in *Satara* district. It is attested to by the *Karhad* plates of *Kṛṣṇa III* (*Ep. Ind.* IV, 278). *Kaliṅga* (45, 2) has already been mentioned (*supra* 22, 3); *Kośala* (45, 3) by the side of *Kaliṅga*, replaces *Veṇvātata* of 22, 1, which is only another name of it. *Svastikaṭaka* (46, 2) is not known. *Vanavāsī* (46, 3) is a well known locality. Ptolemy mentions it (VII, 1, 83) and also the *Mahābhārata* (II, 1173); the old name is still retained by the place (*Banavasi* in North *Canara*). I do not know either *Taṭiskandha* (47, 1) or *Ṣaṭpura* (47, 3) or A. *Ṣaṭpūra* and Y. *Sadāpūra*.

The list now abandons the *Dekhan* and comes back to *Madhyadeśa*. *Vairāmaka* (48, 1) is also found in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 1832 and

1869) where it is mentioned among the people of the North-west with those of the trans-Indus region (*Pāre-sindhu*), the Pārada, Kāśmīra, Darada etc. (Cal. ed., II, 1869 has *Vaiyamakah*). For *Avanti* (48, 3), cf. *supra*, 16, 4. The name that follows is quite uncertain. *Gomardana*—mss. O. H. and also A. and T.; *Gonardana* ms. D., *Gonandana* Y., *Gakardana* or *Goga* —S. For *Vaidiśa* see *supra*, 20, 4. *Chattrākāra* (50, 1) or *Chattrāgāra* is not known. *Tripurī* (50, 3) is certainly Tripurī of the Cedi kings. It is modern Tewar near Jubbalpur. *Ekakakṣa* (51, 1) as read by all the translators or *Erakakṣa* as found in my mss. is unknown. If the reading *Erakakṣa* be exact it might be *Ἡρακλῶσα μητροπολις* (var. *Κραγγυσα*) which Ptolemy (VII, 1, 50) locates in the region of Mathurā. *Udumbara* (51, 4) is the name of a tribe in the Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini (4, 2, 53) put together in the class Jālandharāyaṇa; it is in fact, in the region of Hoshiarpur and Kangra, to the north of the city of Jalandhar, that their coins have been discovered. The Mahābhārata (II, 1869) places them among the peoples of the North-West by the side of the Vairāmaka (*supra*, 48, 1); the Bṛhatsamhitā (XIV, 4), counts them among the peoples of the centre of Bhāratavarṣa, on its western frontier, near Kapiṣṭhala and Hastināpura. *Kauśāmbī* (52, 2) is the famous capital of the Vatsas where reigned the gallant king Udayana. It is modern Kosam on the Jumna about 50 kilometres above Allahabad. Ms. D. and S. read Kauśālī which has been already met with (*supra*, 45, 3); mss. O. and H. read *Vaiśālī* which also has been met with (11, 2). *Sāntimatī* (52, 3) is not known. *Ahichattrā* (53, 1) was the capital of Northern Pañcāla. It is modern Ramnagar, near Aonla in Bareilly district of Rohilkhand; it was a part of the kingdom of Drupada according to the Mahābhārata (I, 5516). Ptolemy mentions the Adeisattroi (VII, 1, 71) and the city of Adisadra (*ibid.* 53). *Kāmpilya* (53, 3) was the capital of Southern Pañcāla. It is modern Kampil in Farukhabad district. Drupada had his capital there (Mahābhārata, I, 5512; V. 7422). *Ujjhāna* (54, 1) and the *Maṇḍavya*—the people of Maṇḍavī (54, 3) are cities placed almost side by side in the Bṛhatsamhitā (XIV, 2) according to which they belong to the centre of Bhāratavarṣa. The Rāmāyaṇa (II, 71, 12) mentions Ujjhāna as one of the halting places of Bharata, after he had crossed the Jumna and the Ganges, while coming back from Kékaya to Ayodhyā. *Pāñcālī* (54, 2) is one of the cities of Pañcāla. evidently the same as Paṣṣala which Ptolemy (VII, 1, 51) locates to the east of the Ganges. *Gajasāhvaya* (54, 4), “the city called

elephant" is Hastināpura (cf. Hemacandra, 978, *Gajāhvaya*), the capital of the Pāṇḍavas which is modern Delhi. *Varuṇā* (56,1) is a less known city but some light may be thrown on it. The *Prajñāpanā*, the 4th Upāṅga of the Jains (Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, XVI, 397 ff.) gives an enumeration of the "Ārya" classed in nine groups. One of these groups comprises Vairāḍa (=Vairāṭa), Vattha (or Maccha), Varanā (sic.) and Atthā (or Acchā). The commentator Nemicandra explains the passage thus: "Varuṇā is a city; Acchā is a country. Some say 'City of Acchā in Varuṇā'. Evidently, Nemicandra, had a vague idea of this ancient geography. But the gloss of the *Li kuo chuan*, preserved in the *Fan fan yu*, shows that the monk Fa-sheng passed through a city called Varuṇā while going from Nagarahāra to Vaidiśa i.e. from Kabul to Bhilsa. The name is written as *P'o-leu-na*; the correctness of the transcription which is phonetically certain is also guaranteed by the translation of the name as *kiao*. The dragon *kiao* "is the god of aquatic animals", according to *Kuan-tseu* (quoted by De Visser—*The dragon in China and Japan*, pp. 76 ff.). In Japan it is "the principal god of waters". It is naturally an equivalent of Varuṇa. The city of Varuṇā, which is placed in one source near Bairat and in another near Bhilsa both of which are in Rajputana and located according to our list between Pañcāla and Yaudheya, must have been to the west of Delhi, near the northern frontiers of Rajputana. The kingdom of Varuṇā is also mentioned in the long list of Kingdoms found in the Candra-garbhāsūtra (B.E.F.E.O., 1905, p. 273); it belongs to the group presided over by the Nakṣatra Puṣya and occurs near Pañcāla and Kurukṣetra. It recurs in another list of the same text (*ibid.* 263, no. 21) under the name Varuṇapati and is connected, as in the first list, with the country of Ti-po-ni Tivani, Trivarṇi?). This last name reminds of Tiyaṇi of the Soghaura plate, 1.3, where Fleet (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 517) takes it to be the name of a city. The *Yaudheya* (56, 3) appear in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 1870) by the side of Trigarta and Madraka among the people of the Punjab. Their confederacy fought against Rudradāmana and Samudragupta, both of whom speak of having conquered them. The coins struck by the Yaudheyas are found specially in Eastern Punjab, between the Sutlej and the Jumna. The Yaśas-tilaka of Somadeva Sūri opens with a description of the country of the Yaudheyas and their capital Rājapura; but nothing precise can be made out of his literary exercise. *Kurukṣetra* (57, 1) is the battle field of the Mahābhārata wars and is near modern Thanee-

vār (Sthānviśvara). It is difficult to restore with any certainty the names of the two Yakṣas who presided over Kurukṣetra. They seem to be similar to the names of two Yakṣas of Kurukṣetra, Tarantukārantuka mentioned in the Mahābhārata (III, 7078; IX, 3032). The forest of *Ayāti* (59, 3) situated between Kurukṣetra and Śrughna is not known to me. For Śrughna see *supra*, 23, 2. The names mentioned in verses 61 and 62 have embarrassed the translators. T. reads *Simhābale* in locative and makes it the name of a place. *Koṭivarṣa* (62, 1) is for Y. and A. the name of a Yakṣa but S. and T. in agreement with our manuscripts mention it as the name of a place. *Koṭivarṣa* is in fact mentioned in the Sanskrit lexicons (*Trik.* 2, 1, 17; *Hemac.* 977; *Keśavasvāmīn, caturakṣarakāṇḍa, nānālīṅga*, V, 195) as one of the names of Devikoṭa. Devikoṭa is situated in the southern extremity of India to the east of Madura. It cannot be at all expected to be mentioned among the cities of Madhyadeśa. But the Hevajratantra (B.E.F.E.O., IV, 547) mentions Devikoṭa or Devikoṣṭha among the pīṭhas or Tantrik sacred places. It is probably another city of the same name. The name of Koṭivarṣa has been applied to more than one city. The versified list of the Jaina Prajñāpanā, already referred to, mentions in the same group Mathurā, Pāvā, Śrāvastī and at last *Koḍivārisaṇi ca Lāṭā ye*; the commentator Nemicaṇḍra gives the following explanation: *Lāṭāsu Koṭivarṣam* “Koṭivarṣa in Lāṭa”. One of the manuscripts of the Prajñāpanā reads Lāḍhāsu instead of Lāṭa. Instead of Lāṭa, Larike of Ptolemy i.e. modern Gujrat, we should have the country of Rāḍhā (which is more correct because, the name is in feminine). Rāḍhā is Rarh, in the Gangetic delta, on the western bank of the Bhagirathī. Koṭivarṣa, therefore may be the same as Kōrygaza of Ptolemy (VII, 2, 14) in the country of the Maroundai in the lower valley of the Ganges. *Campā* (63, 2) also is in the same direction. It is the capital of the Aṅgas, famous in entire Indian literature. The site approximately corresponds to modern Bhagalpur, lower down Patna. *Girivraja* (63, 4) is the ancient capital of Magadha. It is known in the two epics (Mahā., 1, 409, II, 800 etc., Rām. 1, 34, 7 etc.). It is the original Rājagṛha enclosed by the mountain circle. *Goyoga* (64, 1) as the name of a place (S. takes it as the name of Yakṣa) is unknown. The Aṅguttara (1, 280) gives Goyoga as the name of a pilakkha (plakṣa) tree at Benares. *Nāgara* (64, 4) is too common a name to be identified with any precision. There is no question of its identity with Nagarahāra situated in the far west

of India because the list here is confined to the valley of the Ganges. *Sāketa* (65, 3) is Ayodhyā (*supra* 10, 3). *Kākandī* (65, 3) is an ancient city. The Stūpa of Bharhut, about the 2nd or 3rd cent. B. C. received gift from a pious man of Kākandī (Lüders, *List*, no. 817). One of the oldest Jaina patriarchs, Ārya Sūsthitā, who lived according to tradition in the 3rd cent. B. C. was a native of Kākandī and was for that reason also known as Kākandika. The Kāśīkā vṛtti (on Pāṇ. 4, 2, 76) derives the name of the city from that of its founder Kākanda. Kākandī forms a pair with Mākandī (*ibid.* 4, 2, 123) which according to the Mahābhārata (I, 5512) was situated on the bank of the Ganges. SomadevaSūri in his Yaśastilaka (II, 331) gives the edifying story of king Saurasena who reigned at Kākandī. If we are allowed to take this nauseating composition seriously, then the name of the king would indicate his relation with Sūrasena or Mathurā. For *Kauśāmbī* (65, 1) cf. *supra*, 52, 2. *Bhadrikā* (66, 3) which leads us towards Pāṭaliputra is probably identical with Bhadrapura (*supra*, 2, 2), located near Pāṭaliputra. Saṅghila Bhadikiya who made a gift to the stūpa of Bhilsa (Lüders—*List*, 321) was certainly a native of this place. With Pāṭaliputra (67, 1 1, 2 *supra*) the circuit is completed.

The list starts again with an amount of uncertain alluremēt to follow definitely a western direction as in the first part. The first step (68, 2) of this new itinerary cannot be precisely located. Both the manuscripts and the translators differ. O. and H. give *Kāñcīṣu*; D. *Sākete*, S. *Ekaca*, Y. *Kāśī*, A. and T. *Kāca*. *Kāca* is not known as the name of a city. So also *Ekaca*. Kāñcī, modern Conjeevaram in south India, is least expected here. Kāśī is more probable specially by the side of Ambaṣṭha. The Bṛhatsaṃhitā too mentions these two names together. Kāśī is the name of the country and city of Benares. The *Ambaṣṭha* (68, 3) occur frequently in the Mahābhārata (II, 1189, 1871) among the western peoples—Śibi, Trigarta, Madra and Mālava who belong to the Punjab. The Bṛhatsaṃhitā (14, 7), on the contrary, places them among the people of the East—between Kāśī i.e. Benares and Tāmalipti i.e. Tamluk, near the mouths of the Ganges. Ptolemy (VII, 1, 66) locates the Ambastai in the region of the central plateau of India. The next step seems to be *Ekakakṣa* (69, 1) after Y. and T. This name leads to the Punjab (*supra*, 51, 1). But O. and H. read *Bharukaccha* (cf. 17, 1); D. *Erakakṣa* (same variant as in 51, 1); S. *Alaka* and A. *Devakakṣa*. *Ajitamājaya* (69, 4) already met with (*supra*, 27, 1) suggests also the same direction. In any way



with *Agrodaka* (70,1) cf. *supra* (18,1) we reach the Punjab. *Saindhava* (70, 3) takes us to the bank of the Indus. By means of a sudden parenthesis the list introduces *Kapilavastu* (71,2; *supra* 7,2). It again goes back to the west to Rajputana, with "the desert lands" *Marubhūmi* (74, 4) i.e. Marwar. Between these two points, *Kapilavastu* and *Marubhūmi*, has been placed a list of obscure names. *Gāndhāraka* (72,1) is a name of Yakṣa in the manuscripts and in S. and T. But Y. and A. give it as the name of a place. For *Gandhāra* see *supra*, 32, 2. *Dvārakānilaya* (72, 3) "the Yakṣa who resides at *Dvārakā*" would take us to *Dvārakā* of Kṛṣṇa in Kathiawar (*supra* 13,2). S. however reads it as *Dvārako Nilayaḥ* as two names of Yakṣas. The word *nilaya* is taken by S. as the name of a Yakṣa but A. combines it with the next word also to make it the name of a Yakṣa. As a possible choice between so many alternatives I would translate: "Vaikṛtika is (the Yakṣa) of Gandhāra; Dhruva resides at *Dvārakā*". The two localities would then lead us to the direction of the itinerary. *Saubhadra* (73, 2) if it be the name of a place is unknown. O. reads *Saubhadreya* and makes it the name of a Yakṣa. So does S. *Vairātaka* (74, 1) seems to be connected with the country of Virāṭa (*supra* 9, 3). But it becomes *Vaidūryaka* in D. and A.; S. and Y. introduce here *Vaidūryapura* "the city of beryl". The hills of Badakshan near the sources of the Koksha and on the northern side of the Hindukush possess considerable mines of beryl. Pāṇini (4,3,84) and later on Kātyāyana and Patañjali, *ad loc.* derive *Vaidūrya* from the name of a place called *Vidūra* which is later taken as the name of a city and a mountain (Ujjvaladatta on Upādi. 2,60). The Viṣṇupurāṇa II<sup>2</sup>, p. 117, Wilson-Hall) mentions *Vaidūrya* as the western flank of the Meru with Gandhamādana, situated to the West of Kashmir. *Sārāpura* (74, 2) or *Sarāpura* O. H. is not otherwise known. Neither do we know *Vṛndakaṭa* (75,1) which Y. and A. take as the name of a Yakṣa or *Vaimānika* (76,1) which is taken by S. as the name of a country. The *Darāda* (76, 3) are since time immemorial, located to the north-west of Kashmir; their country is still now known as Dardistan (Cf. Stein—Rājatarāṅgiṇī, note on verses I, 312, 316). *Kāśmūra* (77,2) is Kashmir. *Jaṭāpura* (77,4), if the reading is correct (S. reads *Jaṭāsura*, Y. and A. *Kaṭāpura*) may be the city of the Jats which Candragomin seems to mention as Jarta (cf. B.E.F.E.O. III 51). The Yakṣa Pāñcika is placed in communication with "the confines of Kashmir" (*Kāśmīrasaṁdhā*, 78, 3) just as in the Pali account of the conversion of Kashmir by Majjhantika (*Samantapāsādikā*,

Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, III, 315). *Cīna* (80, 1) for the Chinese and Tibetan translators is unquestionably China. I am also of the opinion that it means the country to the north of the Himālayas. *Kauśika* (81, 3) has not yet been pointed out as the name of a country. I would not hesitate to identify them with Kuśika (or Kucika) of the Brhat-saṁhitā (XIV, 30) mentioned amongst the people of the North-West with Kāsmīra (*supra* 77, 2), Darada (*supra*, 76, 3). *Cīna* (*supra* 80, 1), Kauninda (*infra* 82, 2) and Khaśa (*infra* 84, 2). I have already proposed to identify it with the country of Kucha (*J. As.* 1913, II, 344). Although all other texts give *Kaliṅga*, I would not hesitate to accept the reading of S. 82, 2, *Kuḍinda* which is the same as Kulinda in writing. The Mahābhārata frequently mentions the Kulinda (II, 590, 996, 1859 etc.). Arjuna conquers them first on his northern expedition. Ptolemy places them accurately (VII, 1, 42) "near the sources of the Bibasis (Beas), Zaradros (Sutlej), Diamouna (Jumna) and the Ganges". *Maṇḍalāsana* (82, 4) is not known. It is much less a geographical name than nickname like Utsavasamketa. "Those who sit in circle" remind as a contrast the Ekāsana "those who sit alone" whom the Mahābhārata (II, 1859) places just in the neighbourhood of Kulinda and by the side of Khaśa. *Kāpiśi* (83, 2) is the country of Kapiśa which played such a great role in the history of Buddhist propagandism. The Chinese often confounded it with Kāsmīra under the name Ki-pin. The Sanskrit texts have not even preserved the name of Kapiśa. It is from the Chinese texts, the accounts of pilgrims' travels, biographies of monks, and notices in official history that we get all the information on it. It will be sufficient to refer to Hiuan-tsang *Mém.*, I, 40; Watters, *Notes*, I, 122; and Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, 130. Kapiśa is modern Kafiristan which also seems to echo the old name *Rāmakakṣā* (83, 4) or *Rāmakhila* as read by S. is unknown. In the name *Khaśa* (84, 2), Y. and A. do not hesitate to recognise *Shu-le* i.e. Khasgar (in fact the equivalence of the two names is regularly admitted by the Chinese translators from the end of the 6th cent.). The Sanskrit name *Khaśa* is however less precise. It is a name of the mountain tribes of the Himalayan regions. *Bāhli* (84, 3) is Bactria. It is to be noted that Yi-tsing uses the same transcription here as in his *Mémoire sur les Religieux éminents*, Chavannes, p. 23, n. 8 (only with the difference of the radical in the first character). The Mahābhārata also knows the Bactrians and mentions them under the same name (V, 3045; VII, 973, XIII, 4921); the Bāhlikas are frequently

referred to in the epic (II, 1030; 1869; V, 1525, 7607 etc.). The *Tukhāra* (86, 1) are the Greek Tochari, the people of Tokharestan, on the two banks of the Oxus. They are frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 1850; III 1991 etc.) as well as in other texts. *Sindhūśāgara* (87,3) "the ocean of Sindh" is probably the name of the Indus delta. Our author now embarks on a rapid excursion to distant coasts. *Tripura* (88, 2) distinct from *Tripurī* (*supra*, 50, 3) is not known. *Kāṭīṅga* (88, 3), see *supra*, 22, 3. *Draṇiḍa* (89, 2) is the Dravidian country, Limyrike of Ptolemy. *Sinhala* (89, 3) is Ceylon. *Aṭavī* (90, 2), see *supra*, 15,1. But in this case it may be another country. *Aṭavī* simply means "forest". *Pātāla* (90, 3) which the translators agree in interpreting in the mythological sense of "under world" is more probably the great port at the mouths of the Indus which was visited by Alexander. According to Ptolemy (VII, 1,59) it was situated in the islands formed by the river. *Puṇḍarīka* (91,2) as well as *Mahāpura* (91,4) are unknown. The two places were probably higher up the course of the Indus, as the author, next proceeds to *Darada* (92,2; cf. 76,3); *Uraśa* which S. substitutes for *Darada* leads to the same region. *Ambulima* (92,4) like *Pātāla* reminds of the campaigns of Alexander. It is the Sanskrit original of Greek Embolima where Alexander established the base of his operations against the fort of Aornos. Ptolemy (VII, 1,57) locates it among the cities of Indo-Scythia. It is modern Amb, about 60 miles above Attok. *Ambulima* was one of the holy places of Mahāyāna. The *Avatamsaka sūtra* (B.E.F.E.O., II, 248) and the *Sūryagarbha sūtra* (*ibid.*, IV, 547) place *Yi ts'ang yen* or *Yi ts'ang kuang ming* (Kotigarbha prabhāsa ?) of *Ambulima* among the places which are perpetually sanctified by the presence of a Bodhisattva. *Babbaḍādhāna* (93,2) or as S. reads, *Valudva-vana* is not known. It may be the city of Barborana which Ptolemy places by turn in Goryaia (VII, 1,43) with Nagara and in the Paropanisades (VI, 18, 4). *Kāmada* (93, 4) and *Putrīvata* (94, 1) are also unknown. *Kāpiśī* (94, 3), cf. 83, 2; *Pārata* (95, 2) are also known to Varāha Mihira who places them (Brh. S. XIV, 21) with *Vokkāṇa* (*infra*, 99, 2) and *Ramaṭha* (*infra*, 99, 3) among the Western people. They may be identified with the *Pāradas* of the epic. The *Mahābhārata* (II-1832) places them next to the people of *Pāresindhu* (trans-Indus) and *Vairāma* (*supra*, 48, 1 and II, 1859) by the side of the *Kulinda* (*supra*, 82, 2). The *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV, 44, 13 Gorr.) locates them in the proximity of *Yavana* and *Saka* (*infra*, 95, 3) in front of the *Bālhika* (*supra*, 84, 3). Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 1<sup>2</sup>, 1028n.)

already suggested their connection with Paradene of Ptolemy (VI, 21, 4) situated in the centre of Gedrosia.

The name of the *Saka* (95, 3) is familiar to the epics. cf. *Mahābhārata*, I, 6682; II, 1088, etc.; but the name *Sakasthāna* used here is of a special interest. The same name is found in the *Harṣacarita* (p. 239, *Nirṇayasāgara* ed.). The compound represents a well known geographical expression. It is Sakastane of Isidore of Charax, *Sagestan*, i.e. modern Seistan. The *Sakasthāna* of the *Mahāmāyūrī* helps also the interpretation ordinarily current of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription: *Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae* "Homage to entire Sakastana" (cf. in the last place, Thomas, *Ep. Ind.* IX, 146). Fleet had contested this explanation in *J. R. A. S.* (1904, 703-759 and 1905, 154-156). Although the manuscripts give *Bāhlyaka* or *Bāhlika* and although Amoghavajra adopts the same reading, S. Y. and T agree in giving the reading *Pahlava* (96, 2). The Pahlavas are, we know, the Parthians; they are frequently mentioned in the epic cf. *Mahābhārata*—I, 6683, II, 1119; 1871, etc. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 55, 18 Gorr. etc. The next people, *Ketaka* (95, 3) or *Kataka* are not known. *Puṇḍravardhana* (97, 1) or *Puṇḍra* ordinarily means a part of Bengal, in the district of Rajshahi; see for example Hiuan-tsang *Mém.*, II, 74. But a like departure in our list is difficult to be explained. The names that follow remain confined to Western India. The Jain tradition associates with the memory of Naggai, one of the four Pratyekā Buddhas, the name of a city of Gandhāra called Poṇḍavaddhana (Jacobi-*Ausgew.* *Erzahl.*, p. 48; Charpentier, *Pacceka-buddha-geschichten*, 121). The *Mahābhārata* has preserved the memory of this Nagnajit (Naggai), king of Gandhāra (III, 15257; V, 1883; VII, 120). It is therefore legitimate to admit the existence of a city called Puṇḍa (Puṇḍra) vardhana in Gandhāra. Besides, Hiuan-tsang, notes that "Gandhāra produces much sugar-cane and its juice is drawn to make hard sugar". *Puṇḍravardhana* means—"the country where sugar-cane is grown".

The name of Uḍḍiyāna (97,4) presents an embarrassing problem. Yi-tsing and Amoghavajra translate it as *Wu-ch'ang* which is the ordinary transcription of the name of Udyāna, the Swat valley (Hiuan-tsang, *Mém.*, I, 131; Chavannes, *Documents*, 128). In Tibetan the equivalent is given as U-rgyan, the native country of Padmasambhava. This is always identified with Udyāna. The name appears since the Kushan times. An inscription of Mathurā (Lüders, *List*, n.62), dated Sam. 77, commemorates the gift of a pillar to the vihāra of king Huviṣka by a monk "Jivaka Oḍiyāṇaka"—Jivaka of Uḍḍiyāna. The *Mahāvāṇijājātaka* (Jāt. 493) in a versified story

(IV, 352, 1.15) mentions along with other valuable articles, gold, pearls, beryl, "the stuff of Kāśī and *uddiyāna kambala*"; *kambala* is a woolen rug. The commentator admits his ignorance when he says: "There are *kambala* called *uddiya*" (*ibid.* 353). Morris who discussed the meaning of this word (J. P. T. S., *Notes and queries*, 1889, p.202), connects it with *udīcya*, *udicīna* i. e. "northern" and concludes that it could be translated as "the rug of Nepal". He does not concern himself either with the doubling of *d* in the Pali text or with the cerebral found in other texts instead of Pali dental. M. Foucher (*Études sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique*, p. 121 and 148) refers to the miniatures of a Nepalese manuscript of 8th-9th century which give the picture of a "Vajrapāṇi at Maṅga-koṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna" and also of "Mārīcī of Oḍḍiyāna". In his *Études complémentaires* the same scholar has pointed out (p.74) a *sādhana* "magical formula" to invoke the goddess Kurukullā "coming from Uḍḍiyāna" (uḍḍiyāna-vinirgata); this Kurukullā, related to the Kurukullā of the Hevajratāntra, "has the advantage of furnishing the exact prototype of the most popular Tibetan images"; M. Foucher also describes another *Sādhana* (p.97) which is an invocation of "the Mārīcī of Uḍḍiyāna" appearing in the miniatures of the Nepalese manuscript. The analogy with the Tibetan images, pointed out by him is a feature to be noted. The Hevajratāntra, which I have just mentioned, places Oḍḍiyāna by the side of Jālandhara in a list of pīṭhas or Tantrik holy places (Burnouf's ms. 117, p. 16a; cf. B. E. F. E. O., IV, 547). The Chinese translator of the Hevajra-, Fa-hu (Tok. ed. XXVII,3,69b) has inverted the order of the original pādas and read: *pīṭhaṃ Jālandharaṃ khyātāṃ Kāmarūpaṃ tathaiva ca/pīṭhaṃ Paurṇṇa (Purṇṇa-, yola-) giriṃ caiva Oḍḍiyānam tathaiva ca/* and translated the second pāda as *ku-lo shan tsing yuan lin*, "the very pure woods of the mount *Ku-lo*". Seven verses later he uses the expression *yuan lin* to translate *udyāna* "garden" of the original. It therefore seems that he understood Oḍḍiyāna as Udyāna. What is then the mount *Ku-lo*? It is not at all a translation of Paurṇṇa- or Purṇṇagiri of the original. Probably it is necessary to correct *ku-* as *hi*. Then it would be the mount Hi-lo which was one of the sacred places of Udyāna, according to Hiuan-tsang *Mém.*, I, 135). M. Foucher already proposed to identify "Maṅgakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna" of one of the miniatures with the city of *Mong-kie-li*, which was the capital of Udyāna (Hiuan-tsang, *Mém.*, I, 131). Maṅgakoṣṭha seems to be the city of Rice-Granary (koṣṭha) where Buddha converted the mother of king-'Army-Victorious', according to the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda cf.

Przyluski *J. As.*, 1914, II, 513). This was the mother of king Uṭtarasena of Udyāna according to Hiuan-tsang (*Mém.* I, 147 ff.). Fa-hu, uses the characters *Ku-lo*, two verses later, to transcribe exactly the name of Kulāta of the original. It is probable that this *Ku-lo* has been wrongly repeated in the first verse instead of *Hi-lo*. As in the Hevajra-tantra, so also in the Brahmanical Tantras, Jālandhara and Oḍḍiyāna, form a sort of pair. The Gorakṣaśataka (Aufrecht, *Cat. mss. Oxon.*, 236b, 21) mentions among the five important Mudrās “magical combinations of the fingers”, those of Jālandhara and Oḍḍiyāna. The Haṭhapradīpikā (*ibid.*, 235a, 22) mentions these two names in its list of ten mudrās. A very late compilation probably of Persian origin, the Romaka-siddhānta (*ibid.*, 340a, 13) mentions Uḍḍiyāna, after Sindhu, Surāṣṭra and Pañcāla. If we refer to the Chinese accounts, we will find that the name of Udyāna, which is frequently mentioned there, is always transcribed as *Wu-ch'ang-na*, *Wu-ch'ang*, *Wu-ch'a*. The T'ang Annals give a description of the country (Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 128). The same Annals introduce at the end of a notice on *Tu-ho-lo*-Tokharestan (Chavannes, *ibid.*, 160) a note on the country of *Yue-ti-yen* which runs as follows: “*Yue-ti yen* is bounded on the South by *T'ien-chu* (India) at a distance of 3000 li, on the North-West by *Sha-mi* (Chitral) at a distance of 1000 li and on the North-East by *Kua-chou* at a distance of 5000 li. The country is situated to the North of the river *Sin-t'ou* (Indus). The laws do not allow a man to be put to death. Greater criminals are banished and the lesser ones are imprisoned. They have no taxes. The people have their hairs cut and they put on clothes with golden embroidery. The poorer people put on white garments which they wash themselves. The climate is moderate. They produce much rice both from dry fields as well as from rice-fields. They produce also *she-mi* (crystallised sugar)”. I have already proposed to identify *Yue-ti-yen* with Sanskrit Oḍḍiyāna. It is clear that the compilers of the T'ang Annals distinguished this country from Udyāna as they mention it under a separate heading. The traits by which they characterise the country do not occur in the description of Udyāna; some of them are even contradictory. Hiuan-tsang says in regard to Udyāna that “the produce of the lands is not abundant” and “that there are very few sugar-canes”. Still, the boundaries that are given: to the north of the Indus, south-east of Chitral, and north of India, point out towards Udyāna of the Swat valley specially from the point of view of Indian geography.

I have been so long taking the name Udyāna as a positive geographical reality. It has so much currency in our studies that nobody thinks questioning its authenticity. But still, if we examine it closely, there is not a single mention of it in Sanskrit literature or rather in ancient Indian literature. It only occurs in a note on the account of Hiuan-tsang at the end of Vol. II of his Memoirs: "*Wu-ch'ang-na*. In the language of the T'ang—'garden'". The same note is reproduced as one of Hiuan-tsang in the *K'ai-yuan she kiao-lu* (Tok. ed. XXXVIII, 4, 58b) in the biography of Narendrayaśas. The *K'ai yuan lu* had been compiled in 730. But the etymology given by Hiuan-tsang should not mislead us. It is well known from a number of examples how anxious the pandits and the translators were to give a meaning to proper names. It will be enough to have a look at the interpretation of the place-names of the Mahāmāyūrī list given by Yi-tsing, Amoghavajra and the Tibetan translator. The name Uḍḍiyāna (Oḍḍi-) had no apparent meaning; so it was just equated thus: Uḍḍiyāna=Uddiyāna=Udyāna="garden". Thus Udyāna introduced in the geographical nomenclature of India received a droit de cité. In fact it is nothing more than an *idolum libri* of which we have so many in scientific literature. The transcription adopted by the Tibetans, *U-rgyan* or *O-rgyan*, shows, by an insertion of *r* that there was a cerebral in the original *Uḍy- Oḍy-*. S. C. Das has: "U-rgyan, Orgyan, the country of Oḍiyāna, Sansk. Udyāna; according to Lum-yig, modern Gaznee in Cabul". He also mentions in his alphabetical order *O-ḍi-yan*, with reference to O-rgyan. He thus suggests the identity of O-ḍi-yan, O-rgyan and Oḍḍiyāna on the authority of the Tibetan traditions. Does he also borrow from them the other equation O-rgyan=Udyāna? It will be enough to refer to the dictionary of Jaschke for a reply. Jaschke also mentions in an alphabetical order the word O-ḍi-yan with a reference to U-rgyan. About U-rgyan he says: "U-rgyan, also Odiyana, Cs[oma], (not mentioned in Sanskrit dictionaries), often written in the abbreviated form 'yon' a fabulous country in the North-West of India (though Cs. supposes it to be Ujjain), frequently represented as a kind of paradise". Thus Jaschke, as well as his predecessor, Csoma, does not mention Udyāna, at all; according to one Oḍiyāna is in the North-West whereas according to the other it is Ujjayinī. The insertion of Udyāna in the dictionary of S. C. Das is therefore due to the influence of European science, and lastly to Hiuan-tsang. Udyāna therefore should be henceforth taken out of ancient geography and the Swat valley should be called

Odḍiyāna, Uḍḍiyāna. The name of Uḍḍiyāna, whatever might be its origin and original meaning, reminds of the ancient name of the country of Khotan which the Chinese transcribe as *Yu-t'ien*. The Indians make it Gostana, through the intermediary of a Prakrit Wothana which is nearer the form Hwo-tan used by the Hu. In fact a gloss on the translation of the Mahāvaipulya Mahāsannipāta sūtra (Nanj. 61) collected by the Fan-fan-yu, chap. 43, says: "Kingdom of *Yu-t'ien*—it should be read *You-ti-ye-na*; it is translated as *hou-t'ang* 'behind place'". The gloss refers to chap. 20 of the text; in fact it is ch. 22 (Corean edition) or ch. 23 (Chinese editions); it is the passage that I have translated in my *Notes chinoises sur l'Inde* (B.E.F.E.O., 1905, p. 303). There might have been a confusion with Odḍiyāna. The kingdom of *Wu-sh'ang* appears a little later in the same list. A base such as *U-dyan*, prototype of Chinese *Yu-t'ien* would easily suggest to Sanskrit Uḍḍiyāna "the flown" to an amateur etymologist. It may be remembered that the most famous image of Buddha in sandal wood, executed while the Master was alive, at the order of king Udayana was flown to Kauśāmbī after the Nirvāṇa. It was then flown to Rauruka and after the tragic end of this city to P'i-mo in the region of Khotan. Song-yun worshipped it at the beginning of the 6th century; Hiuan-tsang visited it respectfully at the same place in the middle of the 7th century. The name of Udayana himself is ordinarily transcribed in Chinese as *You-t'ien*; His name and that of Khotan, *Yu-t'ien*, were almost homophonous. Udayana, Uḍḍiyana and *Yu-t'ien* were so closely connected that they could not but suggest or favour the legend of the flying statue. Another statue coming from Kucha through the air was also shown at the monastery of *Ti-kia-p'o-po-na* near Khotan. The miracle of the flying statue which moves by *uḍḍiyana* seems to have an organic connection with the name of the country. The legend and the name are interconnected.

Although there is a risk of an obsession, it is in the same direction that I should like to find an explanation of the name of one of the mythical continents of the Buddhist cosmology. According to this system, every world is composed of four continents, symmetrically disposed around mount Meru which is the centre; in the South Jambudvīpa, in the North Uttarakuru, in the East Pūrvavideha and in the West Aparagodāna. The Jambudvīpa is the real world where we live. This is the unanimous opinion of all Indian schools. It owes its name to Jabmu trees which grow there in abundance.



Uttarakuru, "Kuru of the North" is an extension of the Kuru, the region of Delhi, beyond the horizon of known countries; Pūrvavideha or "Eastern Videha" is in the same way an extension of Videha country, modern Tirhut beyond the known horizon. Aparagodāna or "Western Godāna" had certainly an analogous origin; it is a prolongation in a mythical direction of a real country which marked the Western limit to the Indians, just as Kuru marked the Northern and Videha, the eastern limits. The change in the spelling seems to show that it was a name originally foreign to Indian speeches. There are both Godāna and Goḍāna. In Pali the name was picked up without any indication as to its change in spelling and that is a characteristic of the ancient language of the Buddhist texts (*J. As.* XX, 495ff.). It is Goyāna due to the dropping of the intervocalic sonant. The Chinese usually interpret the name thus: "the country where the people make use of cattle as coins". They explain the the second part of the name either as "gift" (dāna) or as "value" (dhana); see for example the *Yin-yi* of *Hsuan-ying*, ch. XII and that of *Hui-lin*, ch. I; cf. also Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 33 If Goḍāna or Godāna had for its base the native name which gave rise to the Chinese original of Yu-t'ien and also to modern Khotan, it would follow that the Buddhist cosmology was formulated when Khotan had been admitted into the normal horizon of India.

*Kohala* (98, 2) mentioned after Oḍḍiyāna is also known to Varāhamihira who places it in the North by the side of Māna (Māṇa)-hala and the Hūns "Huns". The reading Kośala furnished by the mss. as well as by S. and A. is certainly a wrong correction. One of the mss. of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* used by Kern also corrects the reading of Varāhamihira in the same way. The Śeṣa of Hemacandra (Böhtlingk, p. 430, v. 91) gives the word *kohala* as a variant of the classical word *lohala* in the sense of *asphuṭabhāṣin* "incoherent speaker". *Maru* (98, 3) "desert" is perhaps applied here to the desert regions of Chitral and most probably means the same country as Marukaccha of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, XIV, 23, situated to the North-West. It reminds of Marukaioi of Ptolemy, VI, 11, 6 located below the Tokharoi in Bactriana. *Vokkāṇa* (99, 2) reappears also in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, XIV, 20 where it is located in the Western region by the side of Pañcanada (Punjab), Ramaṭha which follows it in our list (99, 3) and Pārata which we have already met with (95, 2). They are also mentioned there (XVI, 35) along with the mountainous tribes and with the Sūlika, Su-li of the Chinese tra-

vellers, situated to the north of Tu-ho-lo (Tokharestan) between the lake Issikoul and the north-west of Samarcand (B.E.F.E.O, 1904 560). The Jain geography also knows this country. The Prajñāpanā (Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, XVI, 397 ff) places among the milikkha (mleccha) the Vokkāṇa (*var.* Boṭṭhakāṇa), along with Yavana, Cilāya (Kirāta), Savara,...Ramaḍha (-ṭha) etc. The name is found again in a later compilation of the Romakasiddhānta (Aufrecht, *Cat. mss, Oxon.*, 338b, 29), next to Sauvira among the countries of the West. In the Buddhist tradition, at least in that of the Mūla Sarvāstivāda, Vokkāṇa was connected with the legend of Mahā Kātyāyana. While the saint, after abandoning Rauruka to its fate (*supra*, 34, 3) was coming back to India, he reached Vokkāṇa after Lampāka (36, 3) and the kingdom of Śyāmāka (cf. 34, 3) see *Divyāv.* XXXVII, 580 = *Mūla Sarvāstivāda vṃaya* in Chinese, Tok. ed. XVI, 9, 98b, col. 15. "Now the mother of the Venerable Mahā Kātyāyana had been born there. On seeing the Venerable Mahā Kātyāyana she said; really after what a long time that I see my dear child. And milk flowed down from her breast. The Venerable Mahā Kātyāyana consoled her by saying, Mama, Mama!...And when the Venerable Mahā Kātyāyana had quite solidly placed Bhadrakanyā in the four truths, he told her—Adieu, mama I go. She told him: My son, if that be so, leave me something that I may worship. He gave her his stick. She then raised a stūpa, placed the stick on it. It is the Stick-Stūpa (Yaṣṭistūpa). Even today the monks who worship Caityas, worship it." The Chinese translation of Yi-tsing has much abridged the account but it has added at the end important details. The Sanskrit text and the Tibetan which follows it faithfully, Dulva, VIII, 203b—continue "Then the Venerable Mahā Kātyāyana, wishing to go to the Middle Country, reached the river Sindhu (Indus)". The God of the Northern country wanted a souvenir from him. He left him his shoes (*pula*) which he had no right to put on in the Madhyadeśa. This is the origin of the Caitya of Shoes ("some call it Pulacaitya, others Puleśvara"—the text ought to be thus restored according to the Tibetan version). The Venerable one then reached Śrāvastī. The Chinese version is quite different: "Later on, the Venerable one wishing to go to the Middle Country, crossed the Siuen-ling (the Hindukush)". Then comes the account of the foundation of the Caitya of Shoes. "Then the Venerable one crossed the river *Fo-ch'a* and reached the city of *Pu-sha*. He went to the houses to beg his food. After he had eaten his food, he shaved his beard, and hairs and cut his nails, The people, when

they saw it, asked for his hairs and nails which they wanted to worship. From there he went by stages towards the south and reached Śrāvastī. The *Fo-ch'a* is without doubt the Oxus. It would be sufficient to refer to the *Yin-yi* of Hiuan-ying, ch. XXV (on Abhidharmakośa, ch. 11) where the author gives numerous transcriptions of the name of the Oxus in Chinese. I will take up later on the discussion on the name Po-sha. It is thus clear that while going from Vokkāṇa to India Kātyāyana crossed the Oxus. It is therefore evident that Vokkāṇa is a name quite admirably preserved of modern Wakhan.

The name of *Ramaṭha* (99,3) has been mentioned more than once. We have seen that the Jaina Prajñāpanā mentions it in the list of the Mleccha "barbarians" next to Vokkāṇa (*supra*, 99,2). We have also seen it mentioned in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, XIV, 21 next to Vokkāṇa. The same work also mentions them, XVI, 21 with the people living to the east of the Indus, along the Vipāsā (Beas) and the Satadru (Sutlej). The Mahābhārata, III, 1991, mentions them by the side of Jāguḍa, the kingdom of Ghazni and upper Helmand. It also mentions them XII, 2430 in a list of fallen people, like Yavana, Gandhāra, Śaka, Tukhāra, Pulinda, Kāmboja etc. Like Jāguḍa, Ramaṭha also produced hingu (assafoetida). The dictionary of Amara, II, 9, 40, says: *Vālhikam hingu rāmaṭham*. Hemacandra 422, reproduces the same definition; Halāyudha, II, 462 says *hingu rāmaṭha ucyaṭe*. Medical men carefully specify the occasion on which Rāmaṭha hingu should be used (see Bower mss., II, 219, Hoernle is wrong in taking Rāmaṭha and hingu as two different products, the absence of the word rāmaṭha in the parallel prescription given by Vuṅgasena proves like the construction of the original itself: *rāmaṭhakasyāpi hinguṇo'tra palāṇi bhavet* that they were not two different ingredients). Ramaṭha has to be searched for between Ghazni (Jāguḍa) and Wakhan (Vokkāṇa). The Ramaṭha are probably the same as Rhamnai whom Ptolemy, VI, 21, 4, places in Gedrosia, near Paradēnē, the country of the Pārata (*supra*, 95,2). *Rāśina* (100,2) and *Patniya* (100,3) are completely unknown. The list suddenly goes back to *Rājagṛha* (101,2, 4,2) with which it had started. It next mentions *Vipula* (100,3 5,2) it next comes back to *Ahicchatrā* (103,1 53,1) and names the unknown city of *Alakāpura* (103,4). The Bṛhatkathā (Kathā S.S., CI, 41; Bṛhatkathāmañj., IX, 1265) mentions the city of Alakā in the country of Niṣadha but the country of Niṣadha cannot be definitely located. The name of *Nandinagara* (104,2) appears frequently in the inscriptions of the stūpa of Sanchi (Cf. Lüders,

List 175,462,467,565, etc.); a large number of donors of the stūpa came from Nandinagara. Bühler suggested (*Ep. Ind.* II, 96) that it was Nandner situated not far from Ujjain at 76°6' E. and 23°4' N. But he wisely adds that there were more than one Nandinagara as there are more than one Nandner. *Grāmaghoṣa* (104,3) is unknown. *Devāvatāra* (105,1) "the place where Buddha descended from the Heaven by the precious ladder" is according to the gloss of Y. and A. Saṁkāśya, modern Sankisa in Farukkabad district, slightly to the south of Ahicchatrā and the Ganges. *Aḍakavatī* (106,1) or Alakavatī is the mythical city where Kuvera Vaiśramana lived. It is strange that the three Chinese translators give it as (H) aḍabanta.

It is now clear that the enumeration of the cities and peoples is neither quite methodical nor quite capricious. The author often takes the liberty of jumping to different directions in the whole of India and also of coming back to his usual itinerary all on a sudden. We should take into account the entire picture of India that it gives. The map of Ptolemy or the account of the Chinese travellers is more useful in following it than the works of the Trigonometrical Survey. Besides religious associations have contributed to confusion along the route and we have often noted it. But on the whole the list is divided into certain clearly defined regions. It starts from Pāṭaliputra and makes a sort of pradakṣiṇa around this point (1-12); then it goes suddenly to the West (13-24), remains engaged in the North-West (25-36), reaches the frontier of India, returns to Mathurā and then proceeds to the South; from there it proceeds by stages (37-47) towards the Gangetic region (48-66) and rejoins its starting point, Pāṭaliputra (67), proceeds again to the West to take account of the countries to the north of India (68-87), changes its course for a while to travel at random (88-91), resumes its course to the North (92-100) and comes back to Rājagṛha (101) to visit a few more localities. It may be said that the original list which was confined to traditional limits of India, up to the country of Lampāka has been enriched with an appendix at a time when the influence of India crossed the Western frontiers and absorbed the Śaka, Pahlava and Tukhāra and extended even up to the heart of Serindia.

Two facts remain important: the place assigned to Pāṭaliputra and the importance of the North-West. Pāṭaliputra appears at the head of the list, even before Rājagṛha which also is given a greater place of honour than Kapilavastu. The fortune of Pāṭaliputra which was so brilliant under the Mauryas who made it their capital went on decreasing after their fall. The kings who established

themselves there since then do not picture in the history of India. The religious edifices which had been set up by Aśoka there continued to attract pilgrims like Fa-hien, Che-mong, Hiuan-tsang but they were not enough to win for Pāṭaliputra the first place in an enumeration of the cities of India. On the other side, the author shows a special interest in the North-West. After having travelled up to the furthest extremes of India, he comes back to that region with a view to start on a longer journey. He travels to distant lands such as Arachosia in the South and Wakhan in the North where Indian influence penetrated only in the most prosperous period of its expansion. The reign of Aśoka (3rd cent. B. C.) and travel of Hiuan-tsang on the other (7th cent., first part) are the two extreme points of this period. The evidence of Bāṇa proves that the Mahāmāyūrī was a text in current use in the beginning of the 7th cent. While the prince Śīlāditya destined to be the future king Harṣavardhana, protector of Hiuan-tsang, was running to the palace at the time of the death of his father, he met on the way all sorts of religious men who were performing their rites: "Some were reciting the Mahāmāyūrī; the others..." (Nirṇayasāgara ed., p. 170; transl, Cowell-Thomas, p. 137). The annotation of the commentator, Saṅkara, shows to what degrees the Brahmanical schools were ignorant about Buddhist things. He says "The Mahāmāyūrī, this is a mystic formula (*vidyā*); some say that it is a Saivite formula". A verse, attributed to Rājasekhara, eulogises the style of the poet Mayūra who was a contemporary of Bāṇa and like him a protégé of king Harṣa, by comparing it with "The Mahāmāyūrī, the magic formula against poison" (*darpaṇ kavibhujamgānām gatā śravaṇagocaram/viśaavidyeva Māyūrī Māyūrī vān nikṣntati—Sūktimuktāvalī*). The Chinese translations, allow us to go further back, to the 4th cent. Tukhāra and Sakasthāna, show, on the other hand, that the Scythic population were finally settled on the frontiers of India. The name of the Pahlava, still doubtful, but probable, brings in the Parthians also in the Indian horizon. We are surprised not to find the Yavans or the Greeks whom the traditional lists (Lalitavistara, Prajñāpanā, Mahābhārata etc.) inevitably associate with the same group of western foreigners. All the evidences go to show that the Mahāmāyūrī list reflects a geographical condition of the first three centuries of the Christian era, anterior to the Guptas but nearer the Kuṣaṇa. It may be even said that the list which is in verse is not an integral part of the Mahāmāyūrī which is in prose and which makes use of prose in other enumerations such as: rivers, mountains, nāgarāja etc. An item in the text seems to show that the list

comes from a Sūtra of another kind: "Rājagṛha, the Yakṣa Kumbhīra, lives on mount Vipula" (*Vipule'smin nivāsikaḥ*, 101). This leads to believe that the scene of the original work which furnished this list was on mount Vipula at Rājagṛha. It may be even supposed that *Vipule'smin* represents a noun form in locative in Prakrit (-smin=*mhi*). It may be remembered that the list is wanting in the first Chinese translations which are incomplete. It seems that versified catalogues of this kind were in circulation only among the Buddhists since very early times. I have already referred, above, in connection with the city of Rauruka, to versified list of cities and kings, in the Mahāgovinda sutta of the Dīghanikāya, XIX, 36. The Mahāsamaya, XX, Aṭṭanāṭiya XXXII, of the same collection are essentially versified catalogues. The Mahāmāyūrī has incorporated also a catalogue of Nāgas, also in verse, closely connected with Pali (O., 221 ff.). In order to confine myself to geographical lists, I should like to refer to the four Mahārāja caturmahānidhistha who allocated Kalinga to Piṅgala, Mithilā to Pāṇḍuka, Gandhāra to Elāpattra, Vārāṇasī to Saṅkha. This verse was intimately connected with the tradition of Maitreya. It fact it is found in the Maitreyāvadāna of Divyāv., III, 61, taken from the Vinaya of the Mūla Sarvāstivāda, -oṣadhiṣṭu (Tok. ed. XVII, 4, 19b-21b); in the *Mi le ch'eng fo king* (*ibid.* IV, 5, 43b), the *Mi le hia sheng king* (*ibid.* IV, 5, 47b); the *Mi le lai she king* (*ibid.* IV, 5, 49b), the *Mi le hia sheng ch'eng fo king* (*ibid.*, IV, 5, 50b) all of which are redactions of the Maitreyavyākaraṇa.

The archaeology of India is still little advanced to enable us to say if the attribution of a tutelary Yakṣa to each city is in conformity with reality or is simply an imagination. If the catalogue is relied upon, then it would reveal to us an important chapter of popular cults about which the literature does not say anything. It helps us in precisely locating the Yakṣas. When we see that Viṣṇu is mentioned as the tutelary Yakṣa of Dvārakā (13), Kārttikeya as that of Rohitaka (21), Vibhīṣaṇa as that of Tāmraparṇī (14), Duryodhana as that of Śrughna (23) and Arjuna as that of Arjunāvana in the same verse, we realise that Yakṣa is essentially a divine personage closely connected by tradition with the memories of a locality. Some of them had brilliant success and imposed themselves on the whole of India either due to circumstances or to the prestige of poetry. Others, less fortunate, did not have any greater fame than that of a clock. The role they play and the inequity of their fate closely remind us of our patron saints. Local enquiry might lead to the discovery, even today; of some traces of

the ancient Yakṣas. But India has always been too amorphous to allow us to take the indications in the catalogue literally; everywhere the imagination of the devotees and the lucrative exploitation of holy places have given rise to competitive cults which disputed the honour and the gains. The Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda and specially the chapter translated by Przyluski (J. As. 1914, II, Nov.-Dec.) mentions on several occasions local Yakṣas who do not occur in our list. I published (B. E. F. E. O., 1905, 264ff.) a long list of tutelary spirits and of protected localities from the Candragarbhasūtra. Agreement between the two lists is rare; divergences are more frequent. Of 55 names of kingdoms or cities mentioned by the Candragarbha, 20 only are found in the list of the Mahāmāyūrī; of these 20 again complete identity is found only in the case of the obscure city of Sthūnā. Its patron according to Mm., 1, is Yakṣa Aparājita and according to the Candragarbha 24 Yakṣa 'Difficult to be conquered' (Aparājita). Benares which has as its tutelary Yakṣa Mahākālā in Mm. 12, has for its patron goddess 'Great-Black' (Mahākālī) in the Cg. 1. Kumbhīra is the patron of Rājagṛha in Mm. 101; the patron of Magadha (cap. Rājagṛha) is the same in Cg. 3. Mānava who is the Yakṣa of the North (Uttarā) in Mm. 2, is the protector Gandharva of the country of Suvarṇagotra in Cg. 29. Suvarṇagotra, the country of Golden mines is placed by Hiuan-tsang (*Mém.* 1, 232) to the south of Khotan, to the west of Tibet in the Himalaya. It was therefore the same "Northern region", Uttarā. Pāñcika is a Yakṣa, protector of Cīna in Cg. 55; the Mm. 78 assigns to him the "frontiers of Kāśmīra" Kāśmīra-saṁdhi). The Pali Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya, ed. Oldenberg, III, 315) locates him at Kashmir itself with "its five hundred sons" known also to the Mm. Here is an additional evidence as to the original geographical value of Cīna. Aṭavika, the Yakṣa of Aṭavī in Mm. 15, is one of Yakṣas of Cīna in Cg. 55. So also Kapila (Cg. 55), whom the Mm. places at Bahudhānyaka (15) and at Varṇu (30); The two inseparable brothers, Maṇibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra, who are placed according to Cg. in Cīna (55) and at Ti-po-ni (22) are placed at Brahmāvātī by the Mm. 31. Puṣpadanta is the Yakṣa of Campā in Mm. 63 but of Po-ye-na in Cg. 35. Nandi is the Yakṣa of Puruṣapura in Cg. 26 but of Nandinagara in Mm. 104. This is enough to show that even in regard to the small personnel of Yakṣas, their local attributions are not always pure imagination.

The geographical catalogue of the Mahāmāyūrī shows that in its actual form it goes back to the first three or four centuries of the Christian era. But this result bears on another problem which

is of considerable interest to a chapter of literary history of India. I have drawn attention in numerous cases to the fact that names mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrī are also found in the Mahābhārata. Scholars who tried to determine the date of the composition of the Great Epic were all struck by the occurrence of such names as Yavana, Śaka and Tukhāra but they refused to attach any decisive importance to them. They are ready to admit that all these names were later interpolations and they do not have any bearing on the date of the original epic. But such a doctrine may explain away famous names which the tradition had collected and sanctified but not those of small peoples and localities. India, we know, had never any taste for historical research. She had never a poet nor even an interpolator who would have the temptation of searching in the ashes of the past for the traces of Bahudhānyaka, Dvārapāli, Jāguḍa, Ramaṭha, and Vairāmaka. As erratic blocks suffice to prove the passage of a glacier, so also these simple names, scattered in the immense extent of the epic, prove the period when the poet had lived and the world he had known. If the list of the Mahāmāyūrī, through its concordance of indications, correspond to India of the first three or four centuries of the Christian era, the Mahābhārata also, which reminds so closely of this list, must have been finally redacted in this period. Whatever might be the age of the particular rhapsodies which the diascevast had utilised, Vyāsa who had set up this colossal work in the glory of Kṛṣṇa, would not go further back in the misty past of India.



## Index of the names of Cities and of Yakṣas

Names preceded by asterisk are variants taken from Skt. mss.

Names in italics are those restored from Chinese and Tibetan.

Numbers within brackets refer to variants and forms hypothetically restored.

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## CHINESE SOURCES FOR INDIAN HISTORY

BY

His Excellency Dr. Lo Chia-luen, Ambassador of China in India.

Like the knights of grail historians know no national boundaries in their quest for sources for history ; but unlike the knights they can oftener than not attain their objects if they follow the right direction. For instance, in recent decades, Chinese historians like Hung Chiung<sup>1</sup>, Ko Shao-wen<sup>2</sup> and Tu Chi<sup>3</sup> completed their important works on the history of the Yuan Dynasty ( i. e. the history of the Mongolian period ) by collecting, comparing, analyzing and utilizing historical materials from Western sources bearing upon that period, thereby giving rise to a new type of scholarship on Yuan history. Scholars of Iranian history will always appreciate the contributions found in B. Laufer's famous book *Sino-Iranica* which, revealing as it does Chinese sources hitherto unknown, throws a great deal of light on the history of Iran. And I cannot help feeling a little proud when I say that books by Chinese scholar-pilgrims, such as Fa Hsien, Yuan Chwang, and I Tsing, written in the early centuries and preserved to this day, can still be valuable sources for Indian history. Indeed, their names and books may be regarded as an inseparable part of Indian history and historiography as well.

Curiously, the records and writings of those Chinese pilgrims had been little known in modern India until European scholars translated some of them into English and other European languages. Great credit goes to James Legge<sup>4</sup>, Thomas

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1. Chinese Minister in St. Petersburg in the end of the 19th century, whose scholarly work "Supplementary Evidences from Translations for the History of the Yuan Dynasty" is a comparative study of Chinese and Iranian sources for that period.

2. A great authority on the Yuan period, whose monumental work "The New History of the Yuan Dynasty" is generally accepted by Chinese and Japanese historians as a masterly contribution to the study of the dynasty.

3. Late professor of the National Peking University, whose work "The History of the Mongols" is a careful study with reference to Western sources.

4. "Fa Hien's Records of Buddhist Kingdoms" translated by James Legge.

Watters<sup>5</sup>, Samuel Beal<sup>6</sup>, St. Julien<sup>7</sup>, and a few other European Sinologues. Distinguished Western scholars of Chinese history and explorers in Central Asia, such as Eduard Chavannes, Henri Cordier, Paul Pelliot, and Aurel Stein also regarded as authoritative references the records and writings of those Chinese scholar-pilgrims. It is a pity, if not an irony, that we Chinese and Indians have done practically nothing in this kind of interesting and important translation work.

In my earlier years I began to interest myself in the works of those Chinese scholar-pilgrims and felt drawn to a style of amazing accuracy found in Yuan Chwang's *Ta-T'ang-Hsi-Yu-Chi* (Records of the Countries West of T'ang) and his disciple Hui Li's biography of him of the title of *Ta-Tzu-En-ssu-San-Tsang-Fa-Shih-Chuan* (Records of the Tripitaka-Master of the Great Compassion Monastery). Both books contain a detailed and clear picture of the conditions of India in general and those of the reign of Harsha in particular in respect of culture, education, calendar, measures, politics, social relations, agricultural produce, industrial products, and, above all, religious traditions. Yuan Chwang was a most beloved and esteemed disciple of Śīlabhadra and proved such a brilliant and original scholar in Buddhist studies that his master and eminent fellow-scholars showered upon him overwhelming admiration and even made him the occupant of the first chair among the lecturers in the Nalanda Monastery, the great centre of learning of the time. His unique academic standing may be compared to the Regius Professorship plus Deanship in a time-honoured English University, but Yuan Chwang was a scholar and personality of such an unparalleled stature of any age. His records and writings have also for

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5. Thomas Watters "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 A. D.," an English translation of Yuan Chwang's "*Ta-T'ang-Hsi Yu-Chi*" (Records of the countries West of T'ang) with commentaries.

6. Samuel Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World," a collection of his translations of the works of Fa Hsien, Sung Yun and Yuan Chwang.

7. St. Julien: "Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde, depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645." It is to be noted also that the work of I Tsing, "*Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nei-fa-chuan*" was translated by Prof. J. Takakusu of Japan, the title of the translation being "Record of the Buddhist Religion."

centuries helped his fellow countrymen to know India and her cultural and philosophical wealth

After and even before Fa Hsien, Yuan Chwang, and I Tsing, there came to India many other Chinese scholar-pilgrims at different times between the third and eighth centuries. Their records and writings, though they may not reach the high plane of those of the best known three pioneers, are, nevertheless, highly valuable in their own right. Here, we cannot do better than to quote the late Prof. Liang Chi-Chao, an eminent scholar and reformer, who made a revealing study of Sino-Indian cultural relations in early times and a far-reaching search for the names and deeds of those scholar-pilgrims first to go to India to build up an intellectual bridge. His essay *Chinese Students going abroad 1500 years ago and afterwards*<sup>8</sup> was generally accepted as a careful treatise on this subject. In his *the Study of Chinese History*<sup>9</sup>, a well-known book on Chinese historical methodology the author told his own story of how he had done the research work :—

“It has long been my endeavour to trace out the ancient cultural relations between China and India and to discover a stream of those Chinese scholar pilgrims who went to India to cultivate such relations. Fa Hsien and Yuan Chwang are, no doubt, well known names. But my final findings among historical records and individual biographies cover 105 scholar-pilgrims whose names can be established and 82 others whose names are in oblivion. Anyway, for all we know, as many as 187 of them visited or attempted to visit India at different times. At first, I confined my research to Hui Chiao's *Kao-Seng-Chuan*<sup>10</sup> ( Biographies of Eminent Buddhists ) and I Tsing's *T'a-T'ang-Hsi-Yu-Chiu-Fa-Kao-Seng-Chuan*<sup>11</sup> ( Biographies of Westward Pilgrims ), and I was overjoyed when I had collected therein the names of 67 scholar-pilgrims. My continued efforts in several months brought the total to 187, whom I classified according to their respective periods, places of birth, routes they took from China to India, scholastic achievements, and so on. These findings, I believe, will serve to throw some light upon Sino-Indian relations in the olden days and the interactions of the Indian and Chinese arts, literatures and philosophies”.



Part the Prof. Liang's findings on this subject is as follows :—

<i>Number of Pilgrims</i>	<i>Period of going to India</i>
2	Later part of 3rd century
5	4th century
61	5th century
14	6th century
36	7th century
31	8th century
<i>Number of Pilgrims</i>	<i>Condition of trip and sojourn</i>
42	They learned in India and returned to China.
16	They are known to have gone as far as Western Sinkiang, but it is not certain whether they went on into India.
Unknown number	They did not reach India ; they turned back after having covered a greater part of the journey.
2	They did reach India, but they returned to China shortly.
31	They never reached India : they died on the way.
6	They died in India.
5	They died on their way back to China after having completed their studies in India.
7	They made their second pilgrimage to India. One of them died in the mid-way of his return trip to India. They stayed on in India indefinitely.
Unknown number	It cannot be established whether they stayed on in India or returned to China or whether they died somewhere.

All in all, 109 pilgrim-scholars can be traced with a fair amount of certainty while 82 others or more must be left to further research. Among the former, 37 died on their journey to or back from India and 6 died in India, making a death rate of 39.4%. This surprisingly high mortality must be accepted when we see

what almost insurmountable difficulties attended their travel in those days across quick-sand deserts and over snowcapped mountains. For instance, when Yuan Chwang passed through the Yu-Men Gate and debouched upon the Mo-Ho-Yen Desert, he recorded, "Here I can hardly proceed. So thirsty I am, having had not a drop of water for five days and four nights. I might die any moment....." In the limitless expanse of the desert, this and other lone wayfarers followed no guide but the bleached bones of men and animals lying on the non-descript trail. As for the sea voyage it was beset by all manner of dangers and voyagers had to beg for their lives from winds and waves. Fa Hsien, for instance, braved the sea on his return trip to China. Once his boat was caught in a storm and the skipper ordered all the passengers to jettison all their belongings except necessary clothes. But Fa Hsien threw overboard his very clothes and kept his Buddhist scriptures and images instead. In another instance, while a furious typhoon was threatening to devour and capsize his boat, his fellow-passengers ascribed the wrath of the sea to the presence in their midst of a monk, and so they came near to throwing him into the sea as an appeasement. His intended destination was Canton, but, after being blown here and there for months, he finally landed at Tsingtao. It was a miracle that Fa Hsien and Yuan Chwang survived all the dangers of deserts, mountains, and seas. Only their thirst for knowledge, their religious fervour, their love for India, their conviction, fortitude and courage sustained them throughout their pilgrimage and such a spirit will always be a source of inspiration for those of us who wish to study India and Indian history and develop closer Sino-Indian cultural relations.

While many of the pilgrims are not known to have left behind records or reminiscences, quite a few of them did write books, many of which later perished. For instance, the following book written by learned pilgrims in the 5th century are now known by their mere titles. The Autobiography of Tao Yeh<sup>12</sup>, *Yu-Lieh-Wai-Kuo-Chuan*<sup>13</sup> (A Traveller's Records of Foreign Countries) by Pao Yun, *Wai-Kuo-Chuan*<sup>14</sup> (Records of Foreign Countries) by Tuan Chin, and *Li Kuo-Chuan-Chi*<sup>15</sup> (Through Different Countries) by Fa Yung.....all seem to have been lost or in obscurity. This undoubtedly is lamentable, but one must

not give up hope and say that these and other lost books or manuscripts are entirely irretrievable. Hwei Chao's *Wan-Wu-Tien-Chu-Kuo-Chuan*<sup>16</sup> ( *Travels in Five Parts of India* ), written in the early 8th century, had long been given up as a complete loss until, forty years ago, it was discovered in part, by accident, in the Thousand Buddha Caves of Tun Huang, Kansu Province. This salvage consists of more than six thousand scribed words, which are of course only a portion, not an essential one at that, of a long book. Yet a new hope wells up in the hearts of those who are always searching for missing links in historical data. The late Mr. Lo Chen-Yu edited this revived portion of the lost book of Hwei Chao in his *Cloud Window Collection*<sup>17</sup>.

There are books which are partially preserved in another manner. They no longer exist in whole by themselves, but references to and quotations from them appear in books and records by their contemporaries and later authors. For instance, Wang Hsuan-Cheh, Chinese envoy to the court of Harsha from Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang Dynasty, wrote a book in ten volumes, entitled *Travels in Central India*<sup>18</sup>. Unfortunately, this important work is nowhere to be found today, albeit some fragments of it appear in *Fa-Yuan-Chu-Lin*<sup>19</sup> ( *The Pearled Forest in the Garden of Supreme Laws* ), a voluminous compilation of stories related to Buddhism and to the Land of Buddha, edited by Tao She, a learned monk of the T'ang Dynasty. I am inclined to think that in different sets of "Chun hsu"<sup>20</sup>, usually in the form of stupendous series of compiled and collected works, there lies a rich field for multifarious attempts at historical research.

Buddhism, no doubt, supplied the chief inspiration for the cultivation of cultural relations between China and India in old times. Consequently, books by Chinese scholar-pilgrims, which contain the fruits of their study of Buddhism as their main objective, not infrequently shed side-lights upon the various periods of Indian history. For instance, the consecutive series of the famous work *Kao-Seng-Chuan* ( *Biographies of Eminent Buddhists* ), the first series of which was written by Hui Chiao<sup>21</sup> and the second by Tao Hsuen, contain various materials on conditions in India, in relation to or told by those Buddhist masters concerned, during various periods from the fifth to the eighth

centuries. Chi Pan's *General Records of Buddhist Masters*<sup>22</sup> and Nien Chang's *Chronicles of Buddhist Masters*<sup>23</sup> and some other books of the line can also guide us through the long journey of this research.

Another source to be explored lies not in the works of pilgrims, but in those of historians. Ssu Ma Chien, the Herodotus of Chinese history, was the first to write not only on China proper but also on the North Western border regions and the neighbouring countries beyond, and his stupendous work *Shih-Chi*<sup>24</sup> ( Historical Records ) was to serve as an illustrious example of history-writing for later historians, by virtue of both comprehension and comprehensiveness. Following this beaten path, Pan Ku wrote *Han-Shu*<sup>25</sup> ( History of the Han Dynasty ) and Fan Yeh wrote *Hou-Han-Shu*<sup>26</sup> ( History of the Later Han Dynasty ) both with chapters on "countries of the Western region" including at least a part of India. Chapters of similar nature are found in *Wei-Shu*<sup>27</sup> ( History of the Wei Dynasty ) by Wei Siu, *Chiu-T'ang-Shu*<sup>28</sup> ( History of the T'ang Dynasty ) by Liu Hsu and others, *Sin-T'ang-Shu*<sup>29</sup> ( A New History of T'ang Dynasty ) by Ou Yang-Siu and others, and *Sung-Shih*<sup>30</sup> ( History of the Sung Dynasty ) by To-Keh-To and others. In *Sin-T'ang-Shu* there is a section on Kashmir, and in *Sung-Shih* a section on India.

Apart from the above-mentioned standard historical works, references to India exist also in works of sub-historical nature, though they treat in the main of institutions, customs, and personages of different Chinese dynasties. Tu Yu's *Tung-Tien*<sup>31</sup> ( General Institutional History of China ), Wang Pu's *T'ang Hui-Yao*<sup>32</sup> ( Essential Records of the T'ang Dynasty ) and Wang Chin-Yo's *Tse Fu Yuan Kwei*<sup>33</sup> ( a huge collection of various works, completed about the end of the 10th century, consisting of 1,000 volumes, under the general editorship of Wang Chin-Yo by order of Emperor Chen Chung of the Sung Dynasty ) contain materials of historical interest with reference to India, although they are very much scattered in various parts and would call forth painstaking work in research.

In later ages, with the improvement of the technique of navigation, Chinese travellers began to take to the sea routes to India and more of them were motivated by trade interests than by religious fervour. Indeed, the contact between the south-

eastern parts of China and the south-eastern parts of India turned to a different aspect of Sino-Indian relations and it was characterized by a lamentable drop in the high intellectual level set by the earlier pilgrims. However, some of the travellers of the period did leave behind their own records ; or else we gather their accounts and descriptions of the lands they had visited in the writings by others. Both kinds are of historical value. In *Sung-Shih* there is a description of the country of Chu lien<sup>34</sup>, which, by inference of the context, is no other than Chola. *Ming Shih*<sup>35</sup> ( The History of Ming dynasty ) records Meng-kia-li<sup>36</sup> as having diplomatic relations with China in the 6th year of Emperor Yung Lo ( 1408 ) and in the third year of Emperor Chen Tung ( 1438 ). Meng-kia-li was evidently the Chinese version of Bengal. The customs and institutions of Bengal in those days are also delineated in Ma Huan's *Yin-Yieh-Sheng-Lan*<sup>37</sup> ( Scenes beyond the Seas ), Fei Sin's *Sing-Cha-Sheng-Lan*<sup>38</sup> ( In a Boat Floating toward a Starry Land ), and Chen Jen-Sieh's *Huang-Ming-Shi-Fa-Lu*<sup>39</sup> ( Political and Legal Ordinances of the Imperial Ming Dynasty ). Therein is found Ko-Chi<sup>40</sup> State, which is the nearest Chinese translation of Cochin.

In *Ming-Shih*, the Cape of Comorin is pronounced as Kan-pa-li.<sup>41</sup> Marco Polo's Comari is a corruption from Kumari in Sanskrit. According to the records of the early Portuguese settlers in India, the King of Comari had under his aegis the states of Kaulam and Travancore. These coasts witnessed the earliest Chinese fleet paying courtesy visits to India. It was commanded by Cheng Ho,<sup>42</sup> who came with a mission to establish contact with the countries in south-eastern Asia.

The above-mentioned sources are simply a few illustrations which may lead to further research and to more fruitful results in the study of Indian history by dint of Chinese materials. Handicapped as I am by a very limited number of books which I have with me in Delhi, I regret that I have not been able to write more than I have done on a subject which I am sure you will agree with me requires any number of references and is, in the nature of things, hardly exhaustible. I should, however, content myself with this much and hope that a straw thus picked up may suffice to show which way the wind blows. Historical research, anyway, exacts very much time, patience, and labour.

A true historian shall never overlook tributaries to the stream of history but work on in the ardent belief that such tributaries, insignificant and feeble as they may at first appear, will accumulate by degree and finally form a strong current in the river bed, carrying the past over to the present. And historical research is a field which yields more, the more it is tapped. Such is the spiritual reward for the historian, apart from his possible contributions to the monument and heritage of human achievements.

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- 29 歐陽修等：新唐書
- 30 托克托：宋史
- 31 杜佑：通典
- 32 王溥：唐會要
- 33 王欽若等：冊府元龜
- 34 注叢國
- 35 張廷玉等：明史
- 36 榜筭剌國
- 37 馬歡：瀛海勝覽（見“廣百川學海”）
- 38 費信：星槎勝覽（見“古今說海”）
- 39 陳仁錫：皇明世法錄
- 40 柯枝國
- 41 甘巴里
- 42 鄭和

## DEVELOPMENT OF ZEN BUDDHISM IN CHINA

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There are two ways of telling a story. According to the traditional version, the origin and development of Zen Buddhism in China can be very easily and simply told. We are told that this school was founded by Bodhidharma who arrived at Canton in 520 or 526, and, having failed to persuade the Emperor Wu-ti of Liang to accept the esoteric way of thinking, went to North China where he founded the school of Ch'an or Zen (禪). Before his death, he appointed his pupil Hui-k'o as his successor and gave him a robe and a bowl as insignia of apostolic succession. According to this tradition, Bodhidharma was the 28th Patriarch of the Buddhist Church in India and became the first Patriarch in China. Hui-k'o, the second Patriarch, was succeeded by Seng-ts'an. After two more generations, two great disciples of the fifth Patriarch Hung-jen, Shen-shiu and Hui-neng, differed in their interpretation of the doctrines of the school and a split issued. Shen-shiu became the founder of the Northern or Orthodox School, while Hui-neng, an illiterate monk of Canton, claimed himself the successor to the Patriarchate of the school of Bodhidharma. The Southern School soon became very popular and Hui-neng has been recognised in history as the Sixth Patriarch from whose disciples have descended all the later schools of Zen Buddhism.

Such is the traditional story of Zen School. I have tried during the last few years to trace the sources of this story and to verify the authenticity of this tradition. From the very beginning I had grave doubts. In the first place, I found that practically all the documents on which this tradition was based were of a late origin : none of them date back earlier than the year 1000, that is, about 500 years after Bodhidharma and 300 years after Hui-neng, who died in 713. These documents do not square



with the earlier historical materials produced before the 7th century. In the second place, there are numerous discrepancies in the list of the 28 Patriarchs which has different versions. The list of names of Patriarchs which was transmitted to Japan in the T'ang dynasty and is preserved among the Japanese Zennists to-day, differs in many places from that which was officially recognized by Imperial decree in 1062, and which has formed the accepted version in China to this day. And lastly, I was troubled by the fact that this simple story of the origin and development of Chinese Zennism failed to give us a satisfactory and connected account of the evolution of Buddhism in China as a whole and of the particular historical position of Zennism in this general evolution. If Zennism were merely an isolated school first introduced by Bodhidharma in the early years of the sixth century, how then could we explain the fact that Tao-hsuan the great historian of Buddhism who died in 667, had already recorded 133 monks in his *Buddhist Biographies* as practitioners of Zen or Dhyana? Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o were among these, and it is clear that as late as the middle of the 7th century, their school was regarded only as one of the main currents in a great movement of Dhyana. Surely if we wish to understand the true history of Zen Buddhism, we must take into account this larger and more general movement of which Bodhidharma's school formed a part.

These considerations have led me to investigate into this problem and take particular pains to guard myself against the danger of using later source-materials for the reconstruction of earlier history. I am here to present a summary of my investigations on the origin and development of Zen Buddhism in China.

## I

"Indian religions", says Sir Charles Eliot, "lay stress on meditation. It is not merely commended as a useful exercise, but by common consent it takes rank with sacrifice and prayer, or above them, as one of the great activities of the religious life, or even as its only true activity. It has the full approval of

philosophy as well as of theology. In early Buddhism it takes the place of prayer and worship and, though in later times ceremonies multiply, it still remains the main occupation of a monk."

Yoga which is the old generic name for the practices of meditation or dhyāna, was practised by ascetics at the time of Buddha. The two early teachers of the the Buddha were yogis. In all Hinayana scriptures, yoga is regarded as an integral part of Buddhism. The practitioner is called Yogachara and the texts describing its methods and stages of attainment are known under Yogacharabhumi. When Mahayana Buddhism flourished, the practices of yoga were again incorporated into it. The philosophy of Asanga, for instance, was called Yogachara and his greatest work was entitled Yogacharabhumi, the same title as the numerous manuals on yoga practices by Sangharaksha, Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena translated into Chinese during the years 150-410 A. D.

When China began to translate Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, these early Yoga manuals were among the first books translated. An Shih-kao whose translations were done in the third quarter of the second century (148-170), attempted a number of such texts. A complete translation of Sangharaksha's Yogacharabhumi was made by Fa-hu in 284. A selection from a number of such Yoga texts was translated by the great translator Kumarajiva in the first decade of the 5th century. At the same time, in Southern China, the great Chinese monk Hui-yuan requested Buddhahadra to translate the Yogacharabhumi of Dharmatrata and Buddhasena into Chinese.

Thus by the first years of the 5th century, Chinese Buddhists were in possession of a fairly large number of such small manuals of yoga or dhyāna practice in addition to the detailed descriptions of dhyāna and samādhi contained in the four Agamas (Nikayas) of which complete Chinese translations were made during the years 384-442.

The system of Yoga as taught in these Yoga manuals is in general quite the same as that described by Sir Charles Eliot in his *Hinduism and Buddhism* (I, 311-322). In brief it consists of various methods to regulate and control one's mind

with the ultimate objects of attaining the blissful state of equanimity and achieving supernatural powers of knowledge and action. It begins with such simple practices as control of breath and concentration of thought on some object of contemplation. If the practitioner is troubled by disturbing desires or thoughts he is taught to dispel them by the aid of philosophic insight. If the disturbing element is sexual desire or worldly vanity, he must contemplate on the vivid horrors of the human body in the process of decay. This is called "insight through the idea of uncleanness (不淨觀)". If he is troubled by feelings of anger or hatred, he must check himself by the idea of infinite love—love for all men and women, love for enemies as well as for friends and love for all sentient beings. This is called "insight through infinite love" (慈悲觀). If he suffers from ignorance, he must be trained to understand that all phenomena are unreal and impermanent: they are accidentally formed by a chance combination of causes and they must be destroyed by an equally accidental working of causes. This is called "insight through correct thinking" (思惟觀).

Through these processes the practitioner of Yoga expects to attain the four stages of dhyana, the "four formless states" (*arupya*) and the five magic powers (*iddhi*). These I shall not describe in detail (See Eliot, I, 313-317 and Hu Shih, *Study of Indian Yoga Practice through the Older Translations*).

The most important thing for the historian of Chinese Buddhism to note is the fact that when these early Yoga manuals were translated into Chinese, they were eagerly welcomed and highly esteemed by the Chinese Buddhists. Tao-an (d. 385), the greatest scholar-monk of the 4th century, took great pains to edit the fragmentary translations on this subject and wrote commentaries to each of them. He tried to interpret the doctrines of dhyana in terms of Taoistic philosophy then prevalent among the intellectual class of the country. In a preface to one of these texts, he said: "The various stages in the control of the breath all aim at the gradual diminution of activity in order to attain the state of non-activity. And the four stages of dhyana are merely stages of gradual forgetfulness for the final blissful achievement of no desire."

Any one familiar with the philosophy of Lao-tse can see that Tao-an was attempting to interpret the Yoga practices of Indian Buddhism as if they were intended to be the working methods for the attainment of the Taoistic ideals of non-activity and freedom from desire. We must remember that the age was one of tremendous revival of the philosophy of Lao-tse, and it was just this kind of ingenuous interpretation which made Buddhist philosophy acceptable and attractive to the Chinese intelligentia.

The year of Tao-an's death ( 385 ) was the year of Kumara-jiva's arrival in China. Kumarajiva was undoubtedly the greatest translator of Buddhist texts. During his nine years ( 401-409 ) in Ch'ang-an, he organised a great translation bureau with eight hundred monks working under him. Ninety-four works were translated under his direction and a large number of these have since become classics in Chinese literature. In addition to his translation of several Yoga texts, he translated the *Parjnaparamita-Sutras*, the *Saddharmapundarika* the *Vimalakirti-Sutra*, and the Madhyamaka treatises of the school of Nagarjuna. These texts which represent Mahayana Buddhism at the height of its philosophical speculation were now made attractively accessible to the Chinese Buddhist and paved the way for the rise of the dhyana schools in the following centuries.

While Kumarajiva was making his masterly translations in Ch'ang-an, another great master, Hui-yuan ( d. 416 ), a disciple of Tao-an, was busy in starting his Buddhist centre at Lu-shan, near Kuling. Hui-yuan was a profound Chinese scholar well versed in the writings of Confucianism and Taoism. Like his teacher Tao-an, he was seeking the essence of Buddhism and found it in the doctrines of dhyana or Yoga. In his preface to Buddhahadra's translation of Dharmatrata's *Yogacharabhumi*, Hui-yuan said : 'Of the three phases of Buddhist life ( i. e. moral discipline, meditation and insight 戒定慧 ), dhyana and insight are of fundamental importance. Without insight, meditation, cannot attain the highest state of quietitude. Without meditation wisdom cannot achieve its profundity of insight.....I regret very much that since the introduction of the Great Religion into the east so little is known of the practices of dhyana that the whole structure is in danger of collapse because of the lack of the solid foundation of meditation''.

This quotation is significant in showing the high esteem with which dhyāna was regarded by the Chinese Buddhists of the intellectual class. As is well-known, Hui-yuan was the founder of the Pure Land or Amitabha sect in China. In the older Yoga manuals translated into Chinese, concentration of one's thought on the Buddha was commended as an aid to meditation. The method was to picture to one's self the image of the Buddha and to contemplate in imagination all the 32 major forms and 80 minor forms of splendour and grandeur which Buddha was said to have attained at the time of his birth and so on. The Amita texts taught a much simplified doctrine which promised rebirth in the pure Land of infinite longevity and infinite light on the only condition of absolute faith in the reality of this paradise and of the Amitabuddha who presides over it. Viewed in the light of historical evolution, the idea of the Land of the Amitabha is a part of the dhyāna methodology ; and the very title as well as the content of such a text as the *Amitayur-dhyana-sutra* is suggestive of this interpretation. A doctrine of such simplicity had little attraction to the peculiarly metaphysical mind of the Indian people but its very naive simplicity appealed to the Chinese mind which had never known any complicated system of religion or metaphysics until it came into contact with Buddhism.

It is a most significant fact that the first Chinese sect of Buddhism was one of such extreme simplicity and that this sect was founded, not by the common folk, but by a monk-scholar of great reputation and no mean learning. And we must remember that among the first 123 members of the Lotus Society founded by Hui-yuan, there were at least half a dozen men who were well known as Confucianist scholars. All this points to a fundamental difference in the mentality of the Chinese and the Indian peoples, a difference the understanding of which is absolutely essential to the history of Buddhism in China.

The Chinese mentality is practical and abhors metaphysical speculation. All the religions and philosophies of ancient China were free from the fantastic imaginativeness and hair-splitting analysis and gigantic architectonic structure which characterize all religious and philosophical literature of India. When China

was brought face to face with India, China was overwhelmed, dazzled and dumbfounded by the vast output of the religious zeal and genius of the Indian nation. China acknowledged its defeat and was completely conquered.

But after a few centuries of bewilderment and enthusiasm, the Chinese mentality gradually re-asserted itself and began to search those things which it could really understand and accept. It now undertook to sift from this vast literature of Buddhism those elements which might be regarded as essentials in distinction from the impressive images and grandiose rituals and unintelligible metaphysics and superstitious charms and spells. Tao-an and Hui-yuan declared that they had found those essentials in dhyāna and insight.

But the whole system of dhyāna practice, even in its concise form as presented in the translated manuals was not fully understood by the Chinese Buddhists. The four dhyānas, the four stages of formless sublimity, and the five states of transcendental powers were vaguely interpreted in terms of the native cult of Shen-shien or Immortals which had quite a vogue ever since the days of the Empire of Ch'in. The best proof of this is the following quotation from Hui-chiao the scholarly historian of Buddhism and author of the first series of *Buddhist Biographies* which was finished in 519. In his general summary of the biographies of "practitioners of dhyāna", Hui chiao said: "But the apparent utility of dhyāna lies in the attainment of magic powers (iddhi) which made it possible to accomodate the whole world or even worlds in a tiny pore in the skin, or to solidify the four seas into a piece of cheese, or to go through a stone wall without obstruction, or to transport a vast multitude of people at a wave of the hand".

Hui-chiao's Biographies which covered the whole period of early Buddhism in China from the first century to the year 519, contained only 21 names of "practitioners of dhyāna" out of a total of about 450. And practically all of the 21 dhyāna monks were recorded because of their remarkable asceticism and miraculous powers. This shows that in spite of the high respect paid by

intellectual Buddhists to the doctrine and practice of dhyāna, there were as late as 500, practically no Chinese Buddhists who really understood or seriously practised dhyāna or Zen.

## II

The great Hui-yuan died in 416. By this time, the Chinese had embarked on their search for a way of simplifying and purifying Buddhism in order to make it more acceptable to the Chinese mind. Some great minds had turned their eyes on Dhyāna, but Dhyāna as it was then presented to them was still too Indian to be easily accepted by the Chinese. A further simplification and a more radical purification were needed before there could be a truly Chinese movement of Zen Buddhism. This was to be the work of the next three centuries after Hui-yuan's death.

*Chinese Zennism arose not out of Indian yoga or dhyāna but as a revolt against it.* Failure to understand this accounts for all failures on the part of European and Japanese scholars to understand Chinese Zennism.

Chinese Zennism as it has been understood since the end of the 7th century, called itself "the School of Sudden Awakening or Enlightenment". The founder of this school was neither Bodhidharma nor Hui-neng, but the philosophical monk Tao-sheng who was a disciple of Hui-yuan and of Kumarajiva. Tao-sheng was a very learned scholar of great brilliance and eloquence. Visitors to the Tiger Hill near Soo-chow will be shown the large flat rock which is still called the Lecture Platform of Sheng-kung where Tao-sheng was supposed to have lectured with so powerful eloquence that even the stones nodded their heads in assent.

Tao-sheng was a revolutionary thinker, and is recorded by the historian Hui-chiao as having made this reflection on the general trend of Buddhist study: "The symbol is to express an idea and is to be discarded when the idea is understood. Words are to explain thoughts and ought to be silenced when the

thoughts are already absorbed. Ever since the introduction of Buddhist scriptures to the East, the translators have met with great impediments, and the people have clung to the dead letter and few have grasped the all-comprehensive meaning. It is only those who can grasp the fish and discard the fishing net that are qualified to seek the truth."

The last figure of speech refers to a saying of the philosopher Chuang-tse who said: "The fishing net is to get fish. Take the fish and forget the net. The snare is to get the rabbit. So take the rabbit and forget the snare." The nihilistic influence of Lao-tse and Chuang-tse has always had an emancipating effect on the Chinese mind, and Tao-sheng was only the natural product of an age which, as has been pointed out, was one of Taoist revival.

So Tao-sheng came forward with his destructive criticism. He propounded two famous theories, one of which was on the thesis that good action requires no return (善受報不) which strikes a hard blow on the conception of merit. But the most far-reaching theory of his was the idea of Sudden Enlightenment (頓悟) which means that Buddhahood can be achieved through immediate awakening without having to undergo the long and arduous processes of merit-accumulation and dhyana practice. In his public lectures, he declared that the logical conclusion of the *Parinirvana Sutra* would be that even the *icchantika* (i. e. one who did not accept Buddhism) was capable of attaining Buddhahood. All these radical ideas so alarmed the conservative monks that they all attacked him and publicly banished him from Nanking. But many years later the complete text of the *Parinirvana Sutra* arrived in Nanking and there it was found that the *icchantika* was held to be capable of attaining Buddhahood. So our rebel philosopher was vindicated and died in glory in the year 434.

The biographer Hui-chiao said: "Because his interpretation of *icchantika* had been established by scriptural evidence, his theories of 'Sudden Enlightenment' and of 'Goodness Requiring no Reward' were also highly honoured by the Buddhists of the time."



The same historian reported that the Emperor Wen ti of Sung ( 424-453 ) took great liking to the theory of 'Sudden Enlightenment' and held public debates on it. He made enquiries to secure monks who could expound this theory after the death of Tao-sheng; and when he found Tao-sheng's disciple Tao-you he immediately invited him to his Court and held another debate on this doctrine. He enthusiastically applauded when Tao you scored a victory over his orthodox opponents. A doctrine which received such favourable patronage from the Imperial Court could not but find its way to general acceptance.

Thus was fought the first battle in the Chinese Revolt against the Buddhist conquest. The war cry was 'Sudden Enlightenment' versus 'Gradual Attainment'. This war-cry was the very instrument of simplification which Tao-sheng's predecessors had been seeking. It was destined in the course of a few centuries to sweep away all worship and prayer, all constant incantation of sutras and dharanis, all alms-giving and merit-gathering and even all practices of dhyana or Zen. When it had finally succeeded in overthrowing the Indian Dhyana itself, then there was the real Chinese Zennism.

### III

But Indian Dhyana also went through a process of simplification and systematisation during the 6th century, and in its simplified and systematised forms it furnished the basis for several interesting movements. Of these the most important are the school of Bodhidharma and the T'ien-tai school, both of which had something to do with the development of Chinese Buddhism.

The earliest mention of Bodhidharma was in Yang Hsuan-chih's *Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, written in 547, in which Bodhidharma is said to have visited and admired the Yung-ning Monastery. As this monastery was built in 516 and became a military camp after 528, Bodhidharma's visit must have taken place during the early years of its glory, that is about 520 or

earlier. This destroys all traditional myth about his arrival in Canton in 520 or 526. The second earliest record of his life was in Tao-hsuan's *Buddhist Biographies* which was compiled near the middle of the 7th century. Tao-hsuan's biographies are full of reports of superstitions and miraculous events; but his account of Bodhidharma is totally free from any mention of mythological incidents and seems to have been based upon earlier records of fairly high authenticity. Here Bodhidharma is said to have first arrived at Canton on the border of the Sung Empire and later gone northward to live under the Wei Empire. The Sung dynasty fell in 479; so his arrival could not have been later than that date. In another biography of the same series, one of Bodhidharma's Chinese pupils in the north is recorded to have moved to the southern Empire during the years 494-497, which is additional evidence for my view of his early arrival. So I conclude that Bodhidharma arrived in Canton about the year 470 and travelled to the northern Empire where he remained until about 520. This view makes his stay in China cover a period of 50 years and is far more satisfactory than the traditional story of his staying in China only 9 years.

But I shall not burden you with more details of such historical criticism which I have published elsewhere ( See Hu Shih, *On Bodhidharma loc. cit.* pp. 449-466 ). Suffice to say that I am convinced that the life of Bodhidharma by Tao-hsuan is by far more authentic than all the later accounts which grew up long after the rise of the numerous myths and legends concerning him. According to Tao-hsuan, Bodhidharma was a teacher of dhyana from Southern India and taught dhyana in Northern China. It was an age of scholastic verbalism and his teaching was little appreciated and sometimes opposed by the Buddhists. He had only two young disciples, Tao-yu and Hui-k'o who served him faithfully and received in turn the secrets of his teaching. He practised a much simplified form of dhyana which is called "Wall contemplation" ( 壁觀 ), that is contemplation in sitting posture facing a wall. He taught that there were only two ways of attaining the truth, by insight and by conduct. Insight

consists in a firm belief that all sentient beings possess the same pure nature ; that this pure nature is often obscured by extraneous elements which can be removed by practising mental concentration in the form of wall contemplation eliminating from thought all distinctions of the ego and the non-ego, of the common herd and the attained few, thus gradually leading to the state of nirvana by silently uniting one's self with the truth. The practical approach through conduct implies four phases ; forbearance of pain and suffering, resignation to all natural course of causation, elimination of all desiring and seeking, and lastly, acting always in accordance with the law which is the same as the recognition of the pure nature in all men. These were called "the four courses of conduct."

Tao-hsuan recorded several followers of his school. His disciple Hui-k'o left a poem which says :

When clouded, the pearl is taken to be a piece of earth  
ware ;  
But when suddenly self-conscious, it becomes the perfect  
pearl.

Ignorance and wisdom are one.  
Remember that all things are mere appearances.  
Seeing that your self differs not from the Buddha,  
Why then seek elsewhere for that which is the ideal ?

This harmonizes well with the teaching of Bodhidharma and also fits in with the doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment which had become popular during the 5th century.

From all reliable sources, it seems certain that Bodhidharma's school was a school of asceticism. The early members of the school are described by Tao-hsuan as living a very severe ascetic life, each carrying only one dress, one bowl and two needles, begging one meal a day and living sometimes in ruined tombs. When one monk was invited by a family to a vegetarian dinner or to stay overnight with them, he flatly declined by saying, "When there is no man left on earth, I shall then accept your invitation".

Tao-hsuan stated in more than one place that Bodhidharma regarded the *Lankavatara Sutra* as the only book worth studying, and that his followers used only this sutra as their text. Lanka is modern Ceylon. This sutra is supposed to have been preached by the Buddha on his visit to Lanka, and represents the newer tendencies of Southern India. The name of Nagarjuna is mentioned in the last verse. It was natural that Bodhidharma who came from Southern India, was attracted by this new sutra.

In the 7th century, the school of Bodhidharma came to be known as the Lanka School. In a biography of a monk of this school, Fa-ch'ung by name, who was still alive when Tao-hsuan compiled his *Biographies*, we find a list of 28 names descending from Hui-k'o. It is interesting to note that the school of Bodhidharma had apparently departed from the original spirit of simplicity and asceticism and had, by the 7th century, produced not a few scholastic commentators on the *Lankavatara sutra*. Out of the 28 monks mentioned, 12 were authors of separate commentaries the total of which amounted to 70 books.

This is all we know of the School of Bodhidharma. Tao-hsuan who died in 667, never talked about Bodhidharma being the 28th Patriarch of Indian Buddhism. Nor did the great pilgrim Hsuan-tsang who was in India for 16 years; nor did I-tsing who was in Southern and Middle India for almost 25 years. None of these learned Buddhists spoke of the existence of a Buddhist Patriarchate in India. The myth of the 28 Patriarchs was a sheer invention of the 8th century Zennists.

#### IV

By the time of Bodhidharma's arrival in China, there came another Indian teacher of Dhyana by name Fu-to ( Buddha ) who also propagated the yoga practice in Northern China. From his school came the famous monk Seng-ch'ou who had been a Confucianist scholar of repute before he was converted into Buddhism. Seng-ch'ou put upon himself all the severe discipline

of Dhyāna practice and was praised by the master Fu-to as having reached the highest attainment in Dhyāna east of the Himalaya Mountains. He was highly honoured by the emperors of Wei and of the Northern Ts'i and had a very large following. He died in 560 at the age of 81. He wrote a book in two chapters on "The Method of *Chih* and *Kuan*".

The title of this book is significant in furnishing a clue to the origin of the T'ien-t'ai School which summarizes its teachings under these two words, *chih* and *kuan* (止觀) which are Chinese equivalents of *Samatha* or claim and *Vipassana* or insight. *Samatha* is the result of meditation and concentration, and *Vipassana*, that of cultivation of philosophy. The T'ien-t'ai school was probably influenced by Seng-ch'ou, if it were not directly descended from him.

The so-called T'ien-t'ai School was founded by Hui-ssu of Heng-shan in Hunan and Chi-k'ai of T'ien-t'ai in Che-kiang, and was often more correctly called the School of Heng-shan and T'ien-t'ai. Hui-ssu was a northern monk who practised the Indian Dhyāna in all seriousness and claimed to have attained its highest stages. About the year 554, he moved into the Southern Empire and by 568 he was in the Heng-shan where he remained until his death in 577. His great disciple Chih-k'ai was a native of Hupeh and after studying under Hui-ssu, settled down as a teacher of Dhyāna in Nanking. In 575 he went to the T'ien-t'ai Mountains where he spent the rest of his life with occasional visits to Nanking and to Lu-shan. He died in 597 after having enjoyed the highest honours of the Emperors of Ch'en and Sui. He was the most influential monk of the age, having built 35 great monasteries, made 4000 converts, and raised enough contribution for the copying of 15 complete collections of the Buddhist Tripitaka. A large number of commentaries, treatises and other works from his dictation testify to his literary genius and catholic learning.

While Bodhidharma represented an attempt to substitute the newer and greatly simplified Dhyāna of Southern India for the older scholasticism and yoga practice, the school of T'ien-t'ai

typified the effort on the part of Chinese intellectual Buddhists to reconstruct some sort of manageable system out of the tremendous and chaotic mass of Buddhist literature. The task was gigantic and required a genius like Chih-k'ai to essay it. This task gives to the school its encyclopaedic character.

The greatest puzzle which had troubled the early Chinese Buddhists had been the tremendous number of sutras all supposed to have been preached by the Buddha himself. It might be granted that the Buddha, being in possession of supernatural powers, was capable of preaching all this in a life-time. But how could all their apparent theoretical differences and inconsistencies and contradictions be explained? As early as the 5th century, Hui-kuan a fellow-student of Tao-sheng, suggested the idea of arranging the various sutras as the products of various periods in the life of the Buddha, attributing the Hinayana Agamas to the first period of his teaching activity, the Parinirvana Sutras to the time of his death, and arranging the other Mahayana texts in between them. It was a brilliant idea coming as a natural product of the historically minded Chinese race. The T'ien-t'ai School seized upon this idea and worked out its details under the general theory of P'an-chiao (判教) or Dividing the Periods of the Teaching. By this theory with its encyclopaedic details, all the differences and contradictions of the sutras were reconciled to the satisfaction of the scholastics of the age.

The doctrine of Chih and Kuan was another attempt at systematization. All the earlier manuals on yoga practice, concise as they may have been to the Indian mind, were still too disorderly and stupidly confusing to the Chinese mind. Chih-kai proceeded to treat the whole system under the two mutually helpful approaches of concentration and insight. He made many trials and finally in his "Elementary Chih kuan" (小止觀) written for his own brother, he produced a truly masterpiece of lucidity and brilliancy, which to this day has remained one of the most widely read books in China and Japan.

The T'ien-t'ai School, however, remained a school of Indian Dhyana, which, though simplified and systematized, was still alien to the Chinese race. Moreover, Chih-kai's ambitious

attempt at encyclopaedic systematization had unfortunately included too much and discarded too little of the worst elements of the Buddhist religion. His school was highly praised by Tao-hsuan as the only sect which did not emphasize esoteric contemplation at the expense of profundity of scholarship in the scriptures. But, after all, the scholarship of T'ien-t'ai was nothing but a Chinese monkeying of Indian scholasticism. And scholasticism it remained throughout the later centuries until it was totally obliterated by the rise of Chinese Zennism.

The T'ien-t'ai School made an incidental contribution to the later development of Zennism. In its desire to become the orthodox sect of Buddhism in China, the T'ien-t'ai masters claimed their direct lineal descent from the great Mahayana teacher Nagarjuna. To authenticate this spiritual genealogy Chih-kai made much use of the pseudo-historical work, the *Fu-fa-ts'ang-chuan*, supposed to have been translated from Sanskrit towards the latter part of the 6th century which told of a line of 23 or 24 Buddhist masters from Mahakasyapa and Ananda to *Simha* Bhiksu, in continuous transmission of the Law. Nagarjuna was the 13th whom Chih-kai called his "great-great-grandfather." This claim gave to the T'ien-t'ai the prestige of being the legitimate movement for the restoration and revival of the Mahayana system, which according to the *Fu fa-ts'ang-chuan*, had died out with the persecution and murder of the 23rd Apostle in Kashmere. But it also initiated a bad example of genealogical controversy which was responsible for the invention of numerous lists of Patriarchs, in the 8th century, to establish the orthodoxy of Chinese Zennism.

## V

We are now ready to come directly to the real beginning of Chinese Zennism. Toward the last years of the 7th century, there arose in the vicinity of Canton a great teacher, Hui-neng, who was an uneducated and almost illiterate monk, but who, by sheer force of personality and inspiring eloquence and above all, by the great simplicity and directness of his spiritual message,

succeeded in founding a new sect which was in reality nothing short of a Chinese revolt against Buddhism. He was truly the founder of the Chinese Reformation without which all the secular art, literature, and philosophy would probably have been impossible.

Hui-neng taught that Sudden Enlightenment was possible, and he himself was an outstanding example of it. Enlightenment comes when you have clearly seen the Buddha-head in yourself. Seek not outside of yourself : all is within you. "The Buddha is within you ; the trinity is within you." You have been told to abide by the Buddha, the Law, and the Sangha. But I say unto you : abide by your self. The Buddha is within you, because the Buddha means the Enlightened One and enlightenment must come from within yourself. The Law is within you, because the Law means righteousness, and righteousness is within you. And the Sangha is within you, because the Brotherhood means purity, and purity is within you.

For the first time in the history of Chinese Buddhism. Hui-neng revolted against Dhyana itself. He said : In my teaching, *Ting* ( *Samatha*, meditation ), and *Hui* ( *Vipassana*, insight ) are one and not two. Calm is the lamp and insight is the light. In all action, walking or resting, sitting or sleeping, always act with straightforward heart : that is the *samadhi* of one-mindedness. And in all places and all times, always act with intelligence : that is *prajna-paramita*. Sitting motionless is no dhyana, introspection of your own mind is no dhyana. In thus over-throwing the principal element in the Indian dhyana, Hui-neng was laying the foundation of Chinese Zen which was no Zen at all.

Hui-neng lived and taught in and about Canton and died a comparatively unknown monk, unrecognised by the Buddhist worlds outside his immediate circles. Wang Wei, who wrote the Epitaph of Hui-neng at the request of his disciple Shen-hui probably about the middle of the 8th century, said that Hui-neng was a pupil of Hung jen who was a Buddhist monk of the Lanka School and who taught in a monastery in Huang-mei in the modern province of Hupei. This Lanka lineage is confirmed by other authentic documents of the 8th century.



Hui-neng called his own school the "Southern School of Bodhidharma". In his early years he was connected with the Lanka School of Bodhidharma. The Lanka school had long remained a school of obscure ascetics and teachers of the *Lanka-vatara*. Tao-hsuan in a biography of Fa-ch'ung written in 664-665, spoke of the difficulty of finding the line of descent in the Lanka School. But by the end of the 7th century, a disciple of Hung-jen, by the name of Shen-shiu suddenly burst into national prominence through the patronage and high honours bestowed on him by the great Empress Wu. She invited him to Ch'ang-an in 700 and for 7 years he was honoured as "the Master of the Law in the two Capitals and Teacher to three Emperors". Shen-shiu died in 706 and his pupil Pu-ch'i continued to be in imperial favour for a number of years. In the Epitaph on Shen-shiu's tomb, Chang Yueh wrote what may be called the *first* connected genealogy of the Lanka School after Bodhidharma which follows :

- |                |              |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Bodhidharma | 2. Hui-k'o   |
| 3. Seng-ts'an  | 4. Tao-hsin  |
| 5. Hung-jen    | 6. Shen-Shiu |

The list contains two names ( Tao-hsin and Hung-jen ) not mentioned in Tao-hsuan's list of the Lanka teachers, and probably represents merely one branch of the Lanka School of Bodhidharma. But the high prestige of Shen-shiu and Pu-ch'i lent so much authority to this genealogy that it soon came to be accepted as authentic. Any other school which wished to contest the high position enjoyed by them, must of necessity either question his tradition of succession, or produce its own genealogy.

So, at the height of Pu-ch'i's popularity and prestige, there came to Lo-yang a monk, who publicly challenged the historicity of the School of Shen-shiu in the line of patriarchal descent. This monk was Shen-hui, a disciple of Hui-neng. He accepted the first five names, but declared that the 5th patriarch Hung-jen did not transmit the secrets of the Order to Shen-shiu who was not capable of understanding the true teaching of the Master. The real successor to Hung-jen was Hui-neng, the illiterate monk who taught the doctrine of Sudden

Enlightenment as against the tradition of Gradual attainment of the other Buddhists. By this time both Shen-shiu and Hui-neng had long been dead, and there was no effective way of contradicting such a claim. Shen hui was an eloquent speaker and attracted huge crowds to hear him; and his courage in offering such an audacious challenge to a Teacher of the Emperor must have appealed greatly to the people of the time.

Good luck has led me to discover two documents in the Pelliot Collection of old Chinese manuscripts found in a grotto library of Tun-huang, and by means of internal evidences I have identified them to be records of the sayings and debates of the great Shen-hui whose works had long been lost in China and Japan. From these, I learn that Shen-hui was the first to raise the question of Bodhidharma's predecessors in India. In one of these documents, Shen-hui answered the question in a most ridiculously unhistorical manner. He said that Bodhidharma was the 8th Patriarch after the Buddha, and he quoted the preface of the translated *Yogacharabhumi* of Dharmatrata as his authority, most naively identifying Bodhidharma with Dharmatrata and forgetting that that work was translated at at least 60 years before Bodhidharma's arrival in China.

To put a long story short, Shen-hui was making the imperial teachers very uncomfortable by his eloquence and by his pseudo-historical evidences. In 753, the Imperial Censor accused him of "gathering large crowds around him", and he was exiled from the Capital to live in I-yang, and later in other places of exile. But two years later the great rebellion of An Lu-shan broke out and Lo-yang and Ch'ang-ngan fell one after the other. The Emperor fled to Szechuen and the Empire was tottering. The imperial army under the great generals were in difficulty to get money. It was suggested that money could be obtained by issuing a large number of licenses for admission into Buddhist monkhood. The eloquence of Shen-hui was commandeered into government service and he made converts by large numbers. It was said that his services in this direction was a great help to the imperial government in recapturing the lost capitals and restoring the dynasty. When the new Emperor

returned to the capital, Shen-hui was invited to the Palace and an urgent decree was issued to build a monastery for him within a prescribed time. The banished heretic now became the honoured teacher of the Empire. He died in 758 ( or 760 ). And in 777 an imperial commission with the Heir-apparent at the head decided to make Hui-neng the Sixth Patriarch and Shen-hui the Seventh. The Southern School of Sudden Enlightenment thus finally achieved its great triumph over the Orthodox School of Gradual Attainment. From this time on, this School has been the Orthodox Sect of Buddhism in China.

In the meantime and in later periods, the absurd list of 8 Indian Patriarchs went through many revisions. It was soon seen that it was impossible to have only 8 generations in a thousand years. So there were numerous suggestions made to lengthen this list, some making it as many as 50, being based on a list of monks of the Hinayana school of Sarvastivadins recorded by Seng-yun in the 6th century ; others making it 24, 26, 28, 29 or 30, all based on the *P'u-fa-ts'ang-chuan* used by the T'ien-t'ai School. Everybody was inventing a genealogy to suit his own calculations. By the first half of the 9th century, the number 28 was more or less agreed on by general assent. But the personnel still varied in different lists. The present genealogy of the Patriarchs was the work of the monk Ki-sung of the 11th century and was officially recognised in 1062.

## VI

It may seem strange that in all works on the history of Zen written since the 10th century, the Seventh Patriarch Shen-hui is given only a bare mentioning, and that all the later schools of Chinese Zen have claimed their descent, not from Shen-hui but from two other disciples of Hui-neng, Hwei-jiang and Hsing-su, both of whom were unknown figures during their life-time. The explanation is simple, Zennism could not flourish as an officially patronised religion, but as an attitude of mind, a method of thinking and a mode of living. An officially patronised teacher of

Buddhism must of necessity perform all the traditional rituals and ceremonies which the true Zennist despises. Shen-hui succeeded in establishing Zennism as a State Religion, but by so doing he almost killed it. All further development of Chinese Zen had to come from those great teachers who valued simple life and intellectual freedom and independence more than worldly recognition.

The greatest teacher of Zen in the 8th century was Tao-i better known by his secular family name Ma and called Ma Chu or the Patriarch Ma. He came from a Lanka school in Szechuen and later studied under Hue-neng's disciple Hwei-jang. The Lanka sutra had taught that words were not necessary to express the truth and that any gesture or motion or even silence might be used to communicate a truth. Ma-chu developed this idea into a pedagogical method for the new Zen. There is no need to seek any special faculty in the mind for the enlightenment. Every behaviour is the mind, the manifestation of the Buddha nature. Snapping a finger, frowning or stretching the brow, coughing smiling, anger, sorrow, desire.....is the functioning of the Buddhahead: it is the *Tao*, the Way. There is no need to perform any special act, be it dhyana or worship, in order to achieve the Tao. To be natural is the Way. Walk naturally, sit naturally, sleep naturally, live naturally,—that is the Way. Let the mind be free: do not purposely do evil; nor purposely do good. There is no Law to abide, no Buddha-hood to attain. Maintain a free mind and cling to nothing: that is Tao.

He was the first teacher to resort to all kinds of strange methods of communicating the truth. The essence of the method is to make the novice to think out the problem for himself. When a monk asked what the message of Buddhism was, he gave him a sound beating, saying, "If I don't beat you, the world will laugh at me". Another disciple asked a similarly abstract question; the Master told him to come near and gave him a box in the ear.

One of his disciples was asked by an official what the whole Buddhist Canon was trying to expound; this disciple showed him a closed fist and said, "Do you understand?" "No", said the Official." The monk said, "Fool, You do not recognise a fist?"

An old monk was staying with one of his disciples when the sun shone on the window. The monk asked, "Is it the sunlight that touches the window, or is it the window that touches the light? Ma-chu's pupil looked at him and said, "My brother, there is a visitor in your room. You had better return there".

Another disciple was asked what the Buddhist Trinity actually meant. He replied, "Rice, wheat and beans". "I don't understand". "Then let us all be happy and glorify the Trinity".

Chinese Zennists in the early years had no separate meeting place or monastery of their own. It was Ma-chu's disciple Hwei-hai who first founded the Zen monastery and formulated its rules of government. At the head of the monastery is the Master Monk who occupies a separate room; the other student monks live in the common hall, arranged according to priority. There is no hall of worship, but only a lecture hall, the hall of the Law. This is significant in indicating an almost conscious breaking away from the Indian religion.

The monks are not required to study regular lessons. All are free to move about. At regular times, the Master holds assembly at the Hall of the Law, and the novices all gather around him. There will be questions and answers and discussions.

The food is simple, but the whole community must share the labour in the monastery. Hwei-hai himself participated in the manual labour of his monastery. He was the author of the saying, "No labour, no food". Here again may be seen the radical departure from the parasitic institution of mendicancy practised in Indian Buddhism.

The most interesting thing is that the Zennist monastery as designed by Hwei-hai was organised more like a school than a place of religious worship. In fact, the Zen monasteries were the great centres of philosophical speculation and discussion through the 9th and 10th centuries. It was not until Zennism had superseded practically all the other sects, that the Zennist monasteries came to take up the older rituals and worships which they, as publicly supported institutions, were now expected to perform.

Chinese Zen was an iconoclast movement. After it had discarded the Indian dhyana practice, it went further and revolted against all prayer and worship. Wu-chu, a fellow-student of Ma-chu in Szechuen and founder of the Zen school at Pao-tang-ssu in Chengtu, who died in 766 and whose teachings have been preserved in the Tunhuang Collection of Manuscripts both in Paris and in London,—was famous for his conscious abolition of all rituals and worship of the Buddhist religion. In his school the monks were not allowed to pray, to recite or copy scriptures or to worship painted and carved images of Buddha.

There is a well-known story told of the Zennist T'ien-jan, better known by the name of his monastery Tan-hsia who died in 824. One night he was stopping at a monastery with a few travelling monks. The night was bitterly cold and there was no firewood. He went to the Hall of Worship, took down the wooden image of Buddha, and, chopping it to bits, made himself a comfortable fire. When his comrades reproached him for his act of sacrilege, he calmly replied: "Oh, I was only burning the image to extract the *sarira* (the sacred bone-relic)". The other monks said: "How can you expect to find *sarira* in a piece of wood?" "Well", said T'ien-jan, "then I am only burning a piece of wood".

The 9th century saw the rise of two great masters of iconoclasm, Hsuan-chien and I-hsuan. Hsuan-chien died in 865, and I-hsuan, founder of the Lin-tsi school died in 866. Both of them taught immediately after the great persecution of Buddhism of 845 which had destroyed 4600 monasteries confiscated millions of acres of land and forced 260,000 monks and nuns to return to lay life. The persecution which lasted only two years, had apparently the effect of purifying the Buddhist religion and elevating the prestige of Zen monks who did not rely upon such externalities as rituals and monasteries, and who could maintain their conviction in nats or caves. It strengthened the belief that a real religion was something apart from the architectural splendour and ritualistic extravagances of the temples and monasteries. It was no accident, therefore, that the great iconoclastic masters

arose and taught in the decades immediately following the persecution.

Hsuan-chien taught the doctrine of non-activity which harks back to the teachings of Ma-chu and reminds one of the philosophy of Lao-tse and Chunag-tse. "My advice to you is, Take a rest : have nothing to do Even if that little blue-eyed barbarian monk Bodhidharma should come here, he can only teach you to do nothing. Put on your clothes, eat your food, and move your bowels. That's all. No death to fear. No transmigration to dread. No Nirvana to achieve and no *bodhi* ( wisdom ) to attain. Try to be just an ordinary man have nothing to do."

Hsuan-chien was fond of using the most profane language in attacking the sacred tradition of Buddhism. "Here, there is no Buddha, nor Patriarch. Bodhidharma was only an old bearded barbarian. The Bodhisattvas are only dung-heap coolies. Nirvana and bodhi are dead stumps to tie your donkeys on. The 12 divisions of the Tripitaka are only lists of ghosts, sheets of paper fit only for wiping the pus from your skin. And all your 4 merits and 10 stages are mere ghosts lingering in their decayed graves. Have these anything to do with your own salvation ?"

"The wise seek not the Buddha. The Buddha is the great murderer who has seduced so many people into the pitfall of the prostituting devil." "The old Barbarian rascal ( the Buddha ) claims that he had survived the destruction of three worlds. Where is he now ? Did he not also die after 80 years of age ? Was he in any way different from you ?" "O ye wise men, disengage your body and your mind ! Give up all and free yourself from all bondages."

"Here in my place, there is not a single truth for you to take home. I myself don't know what Zen is. I am no teacher, knowing nothing at all. I am only an old beggar who begs his food and clothing and daily moves his bowels. What else have I to do ? But allow me to tell you : Have nothing to do ; go and take an early rest !"

While Hsuan-chien taught in the South, his contemporary I-Hsuan was opening his school in the border of Chihli and

Shantung. His school was known as the Lin-tsi school which in the next two centuries became the most powerful school of Zen. It is said that he once studied under Hsuan-chien ; and it is possible that he inherited the latter's iconoclasm and developed its more constructive phases into a great school. He made use of all the pedagogical methods of the earlier Zen masters, but his favourite method was that of howling or shouting at his audience.

The greatness of his school lies in the emphatic recognition of the function of intellectual emancipation as the alpha and omega of the new Zennism. He said : "The mission of Bodhidharma's journey to the East is to find a man who will not be deceived by men." "Here in my place there is no truth to tell you. My duty is to lighten the heavy burden of dead weight on your back. My mission is to free men from their bondages, to cure the sick, and to beat the ghosts out of men." "My duty is to kill everything. When Buddha is in my way, I will kill the Buddha. When the Patriarchs are in my way, I will kill the Patriarchs. When the Arhat is in my way, I will kill the Arhat."

"Be independent and cling to nothing. Even though Heaven and Earth are turned upside down, I doubt not. Even though all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas appear before my eyes, I am not gladdened at heart. Even though the hell-fire of all the three underworlds are thrown at me, I fear not."

"Recognise yourself ! Wherefore do you seek here and seek there for your Buddha and your Bodhisattvas ? Wherefore do you seek to get out of the worlds ? O ye fools, where do you want to go ?"

## VII

Under the leadership of these great masters, there was developed during the 8th and 9th centuries the full Zennism of



China. As I have taken pains to show, it was no work of any single teacher, of Bodhidharma or even Hui-neng, but it was the culmination of a very long process of gradual evolution. It was the unique product of the Chinese racial mentality reacting after many centuries of Buddhist domination and training. It was the child born of the marriage between Chinese rationalism and naturalism on one hand, and Indian religion and philosophy on the other. Historically, it was a revolt against Buddhism. The first impulse was probably to assimilate Buddhism, reorganising it under the heading of Dhyana. All the earlier movements of Dhyana in China, from Tao-an in the 4th century to the schools of Bodhidharma and T'ien-tai in the 6th and 7th centuries, represented this tendency of selective assimilation. Hui-neng, the George Fox of China, began a new epoch by discarding the Indian Dhyana altogether and by his great emphasis on Sudden Enlightenment. But this new Chinese Zennism of Hui-neng and Shen-hui did not develop a working methodology. The new development in the 8th and 9th centuries took two directions : on one hand, the revolt was carried further by becoming frankly iconoclastic and rationalistic ; on the other hand, Ma-chu and I-hsuan worked out a set of pedagogical methods aiming in general at intellectual emancipation.

Dhyana was discarded and, with it, all other ideas and practices of Buddhism. "No death to fear ; no transmigration to dread ; no Nirvana to achieve and no Bodhi to attain". All that was left, was an attitude and a method. The attitude was "to kill everything", "to beat the ghosts out of you", and "to be natural". The method was to find out the truth by your own effort, and "not to be deceived by men".

The methodology of Zen has often been misunderstood. Some regard it as mysticism, others call it shere humbug. There is no doubt that there is a clear method behind all the apparent madness for which many Zen masters were famous. The method, as far as I can understand it, has two important phases. First, the master must not make things too easy for the novice ; he must not preach to him in too plain language, or in any language at all. This is so important that one of the great

masters once said : "I owe every thing to my teacher because he never told anything nor explained anything to me".

When the novice comes to the master with some such abstract question as the meaning of Zen or the message of Buddhism, the teacher will say to him : "When I was in Nanking last time, I made a coat weighing 7 pounds". Or, he will say to him, "My dear fellow how fine are the peach blossoms on yonder tree ! "Or, he will shout at him a deafening shout. Or, if he is really deserving, he will get a box on the ear.

So he retires to the kitchen, puzzled and probably burning with shame or with pain on the cheek. He stays on and after a while, will be told to leave the place to try his luck at some other great Zen school. Here begins the second phase of the method which is technically called "travelling on foot"

He travels from one hill to another, presenting his silly questions to the various great masters presiding over the monastic schools. If he fails to understand, he moves on. Most of the famous teachers did much travelling during their period of student-life. A monk travels always on foot, carrying only a stick, a bowl, and a pair of straw sandals. He begs all the way for his food and lodging and often has to seek shelter in decayed temples, caves and ruined houses by the roadside. He has to suffer the severities of the weather and is subject to all forms of danger and hardship.

But all hardships intensify his life. The beauty and grandeur of nature ennobles his mind. He comes into contact with all sorts of people and studies under the greatest minds of the age. He meets kindred souls troubled more or less by similar problems and he lives with them, befriends them and discusses things with them. In this way, his experiences are widened and deepened and his understanding grows. Then some day, he hears a chance remark of a charwoman, or a frivolous song of a dancing girl, or the chirping of a bird on yonder tree, or he smells the fragrance of a nameless flower and he suddenly understands ! All his previous inquiries and searches and experiences become correlated somehow, and the problem seems so clear and the

solution so evident ! The miracle has happened and he attains his Sudden Enlightenment.

And he travels long distances back to his old master, and with tears in the eyes and gladness at heart, he gives thanks and worships at the feet of his great teacher who never told him anything.

This is Zen in the Chinese sense<sup>1</sup> .

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## ON THE SANSKRIT EQUIVALENT OF FO-T'U-TENG

By Dr. WALTER LIEBENTHAL

The name of Fo-t'u-teng 佛圖澄, a Central Asian monk who introduced Buddhism to the Barbarian Rulers north of the Kingdom of the Chin in the first half of the fourth century A. D., famous as teacher of Tao-an, has never been identified with certainty. P. Pelliot devoted a note to this question, cf. *T'oung Pao* II, 13 p. 419 note 2. He says: "Le nom n'a pas été restitué, c'est une transcription. On le lit plus généralement, Fo-t' ou-ch'eng, mais le Kao-seng-tchouan indique formellement, dans ce nom, les variantes 澄澄澄, je crois donc qu'il faut adopter ici la prononciation subsidiaire de 澄, qui est *teng* (cf. ailleurs *BEFEO* II. 100)." He adds a remark concerning the "t" of *teng* which must be unaspirated.

Nobody doubts that Fo-t'u- is Buddha, but the second part of the name is difficult. As noticed by Pelliot there exist two pronunciations. They are listed in B. Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* under n. 982 together with the old equivalents as follows:

1. ts'eng / ts'ing / d'ien / d'—
2. teng / tung / teng' / d'

The meaning is: limpid, pure, purify.

Two reconstructions have been tried that deserve to be dealt with.

1. Buddhadāna, cf. P. C. Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Introduction* p. XVI. To this Prof. Bagchi himself cautiously adds a question-mark. In fact, *dāna* is not very satisfactory because the nasal ending of *teng* is not rendered. I only know of one instance where that happens, viz. *Sihala-Sengchia-lo*,<sup>1</sup> which however is easily explained by the Sanskrit form *Simhala*: *seng* stands for *sim*—Normally *dāna* should be 檀那 or 陀那.

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1. Cf. Akanuma Chizen, *Indo Bukkyo kogy meishi jiten* p. 615.

2. Buddhasinga. Thus Sakaino in his *Shina bukkyo seishi* p. 281, also adding a question-mark. He is followed by the German historian Otto Franke<sup>2</sup> a. o. This reconstruction seems to be best-favoured presently. The original source must be Japanese, but I failed to trace it.

I don't feel that *śinga* (Sanskrit शिङ्ग) is a satisfactory solution of our problem. It is based on the pronunciation *ch'eng*. But the old initial was *d'* not *ś*, and can an initial palatal *ś* transform into a supradental *ʈʂ*? Karlgren l. c. p. 23 says that "the palatal fricative *ś* and *ts*, *ts'*, *dz'*, *z* do not interchange as a rule."<sup>3</sup> In this case as in the above mentioned one exceptions are probably explained by alterations in the dialect-forms of the Sanskrit.<sup>4</sup> Besides *śinga* is never used in Buddhist names. It means "horn", "mountain", "excess of (sexual) love": in the latter sense used in poetry but not in Buddhist texts.

If there is no plausible equivalent of 澄 in case we treat it as the *first* syllable of a Sanskrit word, should we assume that it stood for the *second*? Syllables, also though not so often initial ones, are sometimes dropped in the transliterations, as e. g. in *makuṭa-bandhana* which became *ou-t'u-ti*, and *chou-li-po-t'an-tien*,<sup>5</sup> or in *setavya* which became *tu-i* and *tu-wei*<sup>6</sup> and others more so.

Among the names listed by Akanuma there are only two which contain a 登 or one of its derivatives in the second place, viz. *patanga*, which is the name of a river, and *matanga*. *Matanga* has two meanings, (i) "elephant" and, because the elephant is the largest of the animals, also "anything the best of its kind". Buddhamatanga would then mean "the best of the

2. *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* II p. 66. "Buddhasinga oder Buddha-datta?" But *datta* is 達多

8. Cf. also Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *The Ancient Pronunciation of Initials* p. 142 *Academia Sinica Publications (Phil. Hist. class)* III. 1 1981.

4. As e. g. 茶 *ch'a* for *sā* in *sāti*, which probably stands for 徐 *su* < *ziwo*, corresponding with the Sanskrit form *svati*.

5. *Akanuma* l. c. p. 400.

Enlightened Ones" and correspond with Buddhasimha, Buddha-nāga and similar names. The second meaning is (ii) "belonging to a caste with this name", actually rather "outcast", *Matanga* being synonymous with *chandala*. The *matongas* occupied the lowest place in the social scale, they were butchers,<sup>7</sup> but also "of black deeds" *kr̥rakarman*. This may refer to black magic, an art for which Fo-t'u-teng was famous<sup>8</sup>

Buddhists had no caste-prejudice as we are taught in the famous *Matangi Sutra*.<sup>9</sup> In the beginning of this Sutra Ananda asks a *matanga*-girl for water. The girl excuses herself because she was an outcaste, but is told by Ananda that all the castes are equal before the Buddha.

The name of *matanga* occurs also as that of the first translator who came to China at the end of the Han Dynasty, Kasyapa Matanga, but here *teng* in *matanga* is transliterated 滕 not 澄. The *Matangi Sutra* has 登 and 鄧. The *Kao-seng-chuan*<sup>10</sup> lists the above mentioned variants 橋, 澄, 磴, 蹬. Though in all these cases the pronunciation is practically the same, and variants of this character are common in the manuscripts,<sup>11</sup> in order to prove my point namely that 澄 in Fo-t'u-teng stands for *matanga* as the name of a caste, it would be better to know of a case in which this name is written with a 澄, instead of with a 鄧, 登 or 滕.

Kasyapa is the first patriarch of the Meditation School. The legend tells that he has not died but in the *Kukkutapada*

6. *Ibid.* p. 612

7. The *Mahāvīryūtpatti* translates 屠種 "butcher caste". There exists another translation 有埵 (*Akanuma* p. 417 a), due to an etymological misunderstanding: *manjate* 'nena (!)

8. "Un veritable thaumaturge" (*Bagchi* l. c.). He was among the first to introduce mantras into China. I accidentally discovered one of them in a collection of ghost-stories, the *Lî-tai-shen-hsien-t'ung chien* 歷代神仙通鑑 *chuan* ll. 6. It is called "water-of-resurrection" 生迴水咒.

9. *Bunyiiu Nanjio* 643—645, *Taishō* ed, ns. 551, 552, 1800, 1801. Translated by Beal, *Buddhist Literature in China* p. 166 ff.

10. *Taishō* ed. p. 389a, cf. version 7.

11. E. g. the last syllable of *Sanghabhūti* is rendered 登, 澄 or 磴; the name of the monk Hui-cheng is written 澄, 磴 or 磴.

Mountain 彌足山 waits for the appearance of the future Buddha, Maitreya. When, in the ninth and tenth centuries, this School expanded and reached Yunnan, a mountain there was given the name of Kukkutapada. The legend went with the name, so Kasyapa sits now in Yunnan in meditation. Then this Kasyapa got mixed up with the translator and we are told that Kasyapa Matanga passed through Yunnan together with Chu Fa-lan.<sup>12</sup> Finally this person split and Matanga became the *nirmanakaya* of Kasyapa who had left his restful abode to raise the dead of Tali and lead them into Western Paradise. Thus we are told in the *Records of Buddhism in Yunnan*.<sup>13</sup> which contains two biographies, that of Kasyapa and that of Matanga, his *nirmanakaya* who while on Earth, performed his memorable deeds under the name of Hsiao-teng Tsun-che 小澄尊者

So here the 澄 stands for *matanga* which makes it about certain that Buddha Matanga was the name of the Buddhist wonder-worker who converted Shih-Lo.

12 Cf. *Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung-chih* 大清一統志 878 p. 6v s. v. 感通寺.

18 *T'ien-shih-chi* 滇釋紀 fol. 1 foll.

## ON THE WORD "CITTAVARANA"

*In the Prajñāpāramitā-Hṛdaya-Sūtra.*<sup>1</sup>

By

REV. PAI HUI

The word "Cittavarana" occurs in all the versions, whether shorter or longer of the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra :—

बोधिसत्त्वस्य प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य विहरति चित्तावरणः चित्तावरणनास्तित्वाद्-  
त्रस्तो विपर्ययातिक्रान्तो निष्ठनिर्वाणः ॥<sup>2</sup>

तस्माच्छारिपुत्र अप्राप्तित्वेन बोधिसत्त्वानं प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य विहरति  
चित्तावरणः । चित्तावरणनास्तित्वाद्त्रस्तो विपर्ययातिक्रान्तो निष्ठनिर्वाणः ॥<sup>3</sup>

For convenience's sake, let us take the first passage and analyse it : बोधिसत्त्वस्य means 'of the Bodhisattva' ; प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य, 'having approached, or relied on the प्रज्ञापारमिता ; विहरति, 'dwells' ; चित्तावरण, 'covered with, or enveloped in consciousness' ; चित्तावरणनास्तित्वात्, 'because of the annihilation of the envelopment of consciousness' ; अत्रस्तः 'fearless' ; विपर्ययातिक्रान्तः 'above confusion, or beyond the range of change' ; निष्ठनिर्वाणः, 'enjoying final Nirvana' ; The subject, is understood. Thus, its English translation made by Prof. F. Max Muller reads as follows :

"A man who has approached the prajñāpāramitā of the Bodhisattva dwells enveloped in consciousness. But when the envelopment of consciousness had been annihilated, then he becomes free of all fear, beyond range of change, enjoying final Nirvana."

Max Muller's interpretation of the word 'cittavarana' as 'citta-avarana—enveloped in consciousness,' differs greatly from

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1. Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Vol. I, Part III ; ed by Prof. F. Max-Muller and Dr. Bunyiu Nanjio.

2. See p 50, the smaller text.

3. See p 58, the bigger text.



that of the Chinese translators<sup>4</sup> who, take 'cittavarana' as *citta-avarana* and render it into Chinese as 心無障礙—mind free from, or devoid of covering'.

My friend, Rev. Santi Bhikṣu suggests that the two Sanskrit sentences should read as one :

बोधिसत्त्वस्य प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य विहरति चित्तावरणश्चित्तावरण नास्तित्वाद-  
त्रस्तो विपर्ययातिक्कान्तो निष्ठनिर्वाणः .

"A man who dwells enveloped in consciousness, having approached the prajnaparamita of the Bodhisattva, is fearless, changeless, and rests on final Nirvana, as obstacles in his mind are removed ( at that time )."

He also takes *cittavarana* as an adjective to qualify the subject, and breaks the long 'a' of the word into two short 'as'. The sentence was thus read :

बोधिसत्त्वस्य प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य विहरति चित्तावरणः ( चित्त-अवरण )

The initial 'a' of *avarana* being shortened, is changed to mean 'un-' and *citta-avarana* becomes 'uncovered-mind' or 'mind-uncovered.' The meaning of the sentence so rendered is this :

"A man who has approached the Prajnaparamita of the Bodhisattva, dwells uncovered in mind."

Prof. Sujit Kumar Mukherjee, after comparing it with the Chinese translations, suggests that a 'na' must have been dropped, and the passage should be read thus :

बोधिसत्त्वस्य प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य "न" विहरति चित्तावरणः

4. The Chinese translations are, so far as we know, seven in number, two smaller and five larger. In regard to this passage, all the Chinese translators ( including Kumarajiva and Hsuan Chuang ) almost take it into the same sense :—

( For there is no obtainment of things, ) the Bodhisattva who has approached the prajnaparamita, has no obstacles arising in his mind. Because of non-existence of obstacles in his mind, he is free from fear, change, resting on final Nirvana.

For all the Chinese translations, see Taisho Tripitakas : 8/848, No. 251 ; 8/849-850, No. 258 ; 8/850, No. 254 ; 8/850, No. 255 ; 8/847, No. 250 ; 8/849, No. 252 ; 8/852, No. 259.

Approaching the Prajnaparamita of the Bodhisattva, the veil of consciousness ceases to exist.<sup>5</sup>

At last, Dr. P. C. Bagchi is of opinion that 'cittavarana' should be read as 'citta-avarana' as in the following sentence ; and it would be better if it is taken as the subject of the sentence. Thus, the construction of the passage as suggested by Dr. Bagchi, is this :

बोधिसत्त्वस्य चित्तावरणः प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य विहरति । चित्तावरण-  
नास्त्विदत्रस्तो विपर्ययाति कान्तो निष्ठनिर्वाणः ॥

The obstacles of a Bodhisattva's consciousness ( mind ) rest in the Prajnaparamita. He ( the Bodhisattva ) freed from the obstacles of mind, hence freed from fear and beyond change, stays in final Nirvana.<sup>6</sup>

There are nine palm-leave manuscripts of the Hrdaya-sutra, from which Prof. Max Muller made the present edition, and which are several centuries old.<sup>7</sup> Both the Manuscripts and the ink are, more or less, damaged and faded, inasmuch as they have been copied by many a raw-hand ( Non-Sanskritists ). It is

5. In support of his suggestion, he gives the following reasons :

1. The following sentence which begins with cittāvaranānāstitvād, i. e., 'because of the non-existence of the cittāvarana', itself suggests that there should be a 'na' in the preceding sentence ; otherwise 'because of the non-existence of cittāvarana' cannot be linked up properly with the preceding one.

2. If there be no 'na', then the sentence would mean 'approaching the prajñāpāramitā of the Bodhisattva, the veil of consciousness exists'—the meaning of which is philosophically as absurd as that of 'Approaching the light of the sun, the darkness exists'.

He explains the whole passage as this :

बोधिसत्त्वस्य प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य "न" विहरति चित्तावरणः । चित्तावरण-  
नास्त्विदत्रस्तो विपर्ययाति कान्तो निष्ठनिर्वाणः ।

"Approaching the prajñāpāramitā of the Bodhisattva, the veil of consciousness ceases to exist. Because of the non-existence of the veil of consciousness, he is out of fear, out of delusion and is resting on final Nirvana".

6. In elucidating his suggestion, Dr. Bagchi points out that obstacles, whether of mind or otherwise, are of no substance when Prajñā knowledge is awakened. The obstacles undergo a parāvṛtti.

7. See pp. 2-4 ; and 47.

not impossible that some words are either left out or written by mistake by different copyists ; as the editors point out, such instances occur very often in the texts. It also might be that the editors were paying more attention to the grammatical construction of the texts than to the meaning when they arranged them ; and so, while correcting the grammatical mistakes of the texts, they somewhat neglected the importance of the system of thought this very Sutra represents.

Prof. Max Muller, in a note on some particular terms of the Sutra, gives his reason why he differs from all the Chinese translations :

“...And as that<sup>8</sup> is so, a man should draw near to the Prajnaparamita, and would then be ‘cittāvaraṇa.’ This is rendered by the chinese translators as without obstacles arising from thought or consciousness,’ i. e. citta-āvaraṇa. This may be right, but we may also take it as citta-āvaraṇa ‘enveloped in thoughts and sorrows,’ because the text goes on to say, that when this envelopment too has to be nothing final, firm, real Nirvana is obtained, such as the Prajnaparamita alone can give.”<sup>8</sup>

This statement throws true light upon the subject ; for we understand now that Prof. Max Muller was misled by the next<sup>9</sup> passage which takes चित्तावरण as ‘citta-चित्त-आवरण’ not as चित्त-अवरण.<sup>10</sup> Thus, he overlooks the principle of this

8. Pp. 59.

9. That is ‘cittāvaraṇanāstitvādatrasto viparyāsātikrānto nisthanirvaṇaḥ’ which is what the professor means by saying ‘because the text goes on to say, that when this envelopment too has to be nothing, final, firm, real Nirvana is obtained, such as the Prajnaparamitā, alone can give.’

10. Cittāvaraṇa can be interpreted in two ways ; one is as ‘citta-āvaraṇa—mind-uncovered,’ the other as ‘citta-āvaraṇa—mind-covered’. For the ‘a’ of citta is combined with the short ‘a’ of āvaraṇa or the long ‘ā’ of āvaraṇa, it becomes a long ‘ā’ which can be taken as a joining of two short ‘as’, or of one short and one long ‘as’. If we take it as citta-āvaraṇa, it will mean ‘mind un-covered ;’ if we take it as citta-āvaraṇa, it will mean ‘mind-covered’, or enveloped in consciousness’. Indeed, it puzzles us to catch what it does exactly mean as it is so formed in the text. It is no wonder why Prof. Max Muller says that the Chinese translators rendered it as ‘without obstacles arising from mind—citta-āvaraṇa’, and that he interprets it as enveloped in consciousness—citta-āvaraṇa’.

Mahayana school of Sunyata to which the present Sutra belongs. Besides, other objections may be raised against his interpretation.

In the first place, it undermines the position of the Prajnaparamita and that of Aryavalokitesvara Bodhisattva. As we know, there are forty-two stages from the beginning of a Bodhisattva to the end of a Buddha in the Mahayana Buddhism, i. e. ten grades ( दशविहार ), ten practices ( दशचर्या ), ten returns ( दशपरिणामना ), ten attainments ( दशभूमि ), and the forty-first, the absolute universal enlightenment ( सम्यक्सम्बोधि ), and the last, the wonderful enlightenment of a perfect Buddha.<sup>11</sup> According to the complete teaching of the Buddha, the radical ignorance ( मूलअविद्या ) that veils the substance ( काय ), the character ( लक्षण ), and the function ( प्रयोजन ) of the absolute body ( धर्मकाय ), is divided into forty two parts which a Bodhisattva of the complete teaching has to extirpate one by one through the forty-two stages. When a Bodhisattva comes to the first stage, i. e. the first one of the ten grades, by practising the perfect visualization of the highest truth in all things ( सर्वधर्म ), he extinguishes the first part of the radical ignorance, and simultaneously he partly regains his innate Dharma-body, i. e. a part of the substance, character and function of the originally spiritual body. Hence, he removes obstacles

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11. According to the Ti'en-t'ai School, the Buddha has four kinds of teaching of the content of the Truth accommodated to the capacity of his disciples :

- A. The Tripitaka or Hinayāna teaching for śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas, the Bodhisattva doctrine being subordinate; it also includes the primitive Sūnya doctrine as developed in the Tattva siddhi sāstra.
- B. His later 'intermediate' teaching, to which are attributed the doctrines of the Dharmalakṣaṇa or Yogācārya and Mādhyamika schools.
- C. His differentiated or separated Bodhisattva teaching definitely Mahayāna.
- D. His final, perfect, universal teaching as preached, e. g. in the Lotus and Nirvāṇa sūtras.

Cf. The Syllabus and Principle of the Teaching and Visualization by Rev. Wou yee of the Ming Dynasty ( A. D. 1968—1628 ).

from mind, gets free from fear, becomes changeless, sharing supreme Nirvana with Buddhas ; apart from achieving such a supernatural power, that out of the regained part of his Dharma-body, he assumes incarnations निर्माण in hundreds of great worlds where he becomes Buddhas of Nirmanakaya to benefit and salvage sentient beings. Bodhisattva Aryavalokitesvara mentioned in the Karunapundarika-sutra<sup>12</sup> was a Buddha in the past, and is a Bodhisattva at present. In the Sukhavati School, he is also mentioned to have been a Buddha-apparent of Amitabha Buddha in the Western world of extreme bliss. His position is just next to the Buddha, that means, he is staying at the forty-first stage of the absolute universal enlightenment, because he has exterminated forty-one parts of the radical ignorance, and re-obtained the almost perfect Dharma-body. The radical ignorance the Bodhisattva destroyed here, refers to the envelopment of consciousness (cittavarāṇa), which he instructs his followers to remove by devotion to the deep study of the Prajnaparamita in the Sutra. From this, it is undoubtedly understood that the Bodhisattva has studied and entered the deep Prajnaparamita, and has annihilated the envelopment of consciousness, and is fearless, changeless, enjoying final Nirvana ; and that he is now preaching to the followers with his own experience. One must be the same as the great Bodhisattva ( at least, reach the first stage of the Bodhisattva course ), if one has approached the Prajnaparamita in accordance with his instruction. But, if it is that a man who has approached the Prajnaparamita of the Bodhisattva, dwells enveloped in consciousness as Prof. Max Muller understands, the Prajnaparamita of the Bodhisattva can hardly rank so high as being attributed to the complete teaching of the Buddha, and the position of Aryavalokitesvara Bodhisattva would be regarded even below that of those who are at the first stage of the complete teaching.

Secondly, it contradicts the context of the Sutra. At the very beginning, the Sutra gives a vivid description of the deep study of the Prajnaparamita by Bodhisattva Aryavalokitesvara,

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12. Taisho Tripitakas 8/167-282, No. 167 ; and 8/282-289, No. 158.

and says that the Bodhisattva has practised the Prajnaparamita, and has successfully freed himself from the envelopment of consciousness ; and that a good son or a good daughter of a family who wishes to practise it, should follow suit. It becomes far clearer when it comes to the passage.

बोधिसत्त्वस्य प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य विहरति चित्तावरणः । चित्तावरण

नास्तित्वादत्रस्तो विपर्ययातिक्रान्तो निष्ठनिर्वाणः । which in consistence with the context, should be understood as "A man who has approached the Prajnaparamita of the Bodhisattva, dwells unconcealed with obstacles in mind. On account of removal of the obstacles from his mind, he is free from fear, gets beyond change, and rests in final Nirvana". Again, having shown the wonderful function and merit of the Bodhisattva's Prajnaparamita, the text goes on to say later, "All Buddhas of the past, present and future, after approaching the Prajnaparamita, have awakened to the highest perfect knowledge". In other words the Prajnaparamita is an extraordinary means which even all Buddhas have to adopt to get to the insurmountable height of perfection of morality and wisdom. But according to Prof. Max Muller, a man still cannot free himself from envelopment of consciousness, even though he may have depended on the Prajnaparamita ; far less to attain to the most excellent knowledge of Buddha.

Prof. Max Muller's rendering of cittavarana into English as 'envelopment in consciousness' can be further proved unacceptable to us by the authority of the transliteration of the Prajnaparamita-hrdaya-sutra made by Amoghavajra of the T'ang Dynasty ( 618-906 ), the second patriarch of the Tantric school in China, from Hiuen Chwang's Sanskrit text.<sup>13</sup> The Chinese

13 The Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit text of the Prajñāpāramitā-hrdaya-sūtra in parallelism with its translation. Taisho Tri. 8/851-852 ; No.256.

In his preface to Hiuan Chwang's Sanskrit text, Rev. Ts'en-neng chief disciple of Hiuan Chwang ( A. D. 599-664 ), said that the Sanskrit text of the Sūtra was taught to Tripiṭakācārya Hiuan Chwang by Bodhisattva Āryavalokiteśvara while the former met with difficulties and dangers on his way to India. The Sanskrit original along with Hiuan Chwang's unpolished word-for-word translation ( slightly different from his polished one in wording which has been popular since ) inscribed on a stone-wall of the Tai Chin Shen Temple of Sian ; and the transliteration of the text was made later by Amoghavajra most probably during his residence in the temple from A. D. 756-774.

transliteration of this controversial passage in Amoghavajra's text reads as below :

胃苦地建婆恒嚩喃樓 (42)  
 鉢囉般=合說樓名播波囉通弭無多 (43)  
 麼室哩底也依=合尾賀於囉底也=合位 (44)  
 只等心嚩囉里拏離 (45)  
 只路心[嚩]囉里拏離 (46)  
 曩無患底但嚩=合有邪惡性哩=合京都=合時 (47)  
 尾播轉哩也=合婆利底速伽蘭哆離 (48)  
 寧究瑟吒哩也嚩=合望喃離 (49)

According to its Chinese sound, this passage can be correctly reconstructed into Sanskrit language :

बोधिसत्त्वानाम्	(42)
प्रज्ञापारमिताम्	(43)
आश्रित्य विहरति	(44)
चित्तावरणः	(45)
चित्ता[व]रण <sup>14</sup>	(46)
नास्तित्वादत्रस्तो	(47)
विपर्यसातिक्रान्तो	(48)
निष्ठनिर्वाणः	(49)

And, we should take note of Hiuan Chwang's translation given immediately beside Amoghavajra's transliteration in a small type of letters, and especially of three sentences—Nos. 45, 46, and 47. Hiuan Chwang rendered cittavarāṇa into Chinese as 心無窪礙 (or mind devoid of covering), e. g. 'citta-avarāṇa'; and cittavarāṇa-nāstitvadatrasto (Nos. 46 and 47) as - - - 故無有怖恐 (or because of non-existence of mental conflicts, one is fearless ).'

14 A '囉 va' in this sentence probably has been left out by negligence of some untrained copyists; it should be like the preceding sentence No. 45.

As Amoghavajra made his transliteration from Hiuan Chwang's Sanskrit text still preserved on the stone-wall of the Tai Chin Shan Temple at Si-an, he must have read Hiuan Chwang's unpolished translation too ( see Note 18 ) : and we are sure he must have been completely in agreement with his interpretation of the text ; otherwise he would have made improvement or correction upon the translation, or made an entirely new version of the text. So, both the authoritative translator and transliterator did not differ from each other in so far as the explanation of the Prajna-paramita-hrdaya-sutra is concerned ; and we are quite safe in concluding here that the reading of cittavarana should be 'cittavarana—mind devoid of concealment' as all the Chinese translators read, but not 'citta-avarana—envelopment in consciousness' as Prof. Max Muller read ; and we are also right in following the traditional views held unanimously by our Chinese ancient Gurus on the theory of Sunyata as expounded in this Prajnaparamita-hrdaya Sutra. .



## SHIN-WEI-SHE-LUN OF SHI-LI

BY PROF. SHU HU

The "New Vijnaptimatratā-Sāstra" may be taken as an important work on the Sung-Philosophy, expounded in the light of Vijnaptimatratā-Siddhi. It consists of two parts: the first one, 'On Viśaya' is the work now being taken into consideration, while the second part 'On Pramāṇa' remains as yet unpublished. Viśaya or the external object is that which is measurable (prameyam), which, according to the author, indirectly refers to Svabhava, the synonym of Tattva (real entity). Since Svabhava or self-nature transcends the reach of words, the whole discussion is made by metaphor (Upacaratāh).

The author—Hsiung Shi-li, Hsiung being his surname, and Shi-li, the Chinese term for 'Dasabala',—is a professor of Buddhist philosophy in the National Peking University. Up to 1921 he lectured on the Siddhi, following chiefly the theories of Dharmapala, and completed his first draft of the the discussion on Viśaya. But in the next year, a great doubt dawned upon him which made him sceptical of what he had already written: and finally he tore all his first drafts to pieces. In the subsequent period of ten years followed a good deal of deep thinking and serious discussion with eminent scholars amongst whom was Ma Yi-hou, the great Confucianist. That brought this work (1st part) into completion.

To gain a clear conception of this system of philosophy, or rather metaphysics, as the author calls it, it is necessary to note in particular two of its special features, commonplace though these may appear to be in the eyes of an orthodox Chinese scholar. Amongst many new interpretations of old theories, the absolute denial of what we understand as philosophy in the ordinary sense forcibly arrests our attention. That knowledge which is derived from the experience of our sense-organs or reasoning power of intellect, without the independent enlightenment of the Self-

nature,—in the author's terminology, the 'enlightenment' is the Self-nature,— will necessarily be empty or vague, and the more complicated or delicate a system of philosophy this may attempt to build up, the more it tends to sever itself from the truth. In the end all the speculations and discussions of the philosopher will become merely a play of words. This is explained by a parable from an ancient Chinese philosophical work of Hwei Nan-tze... which though somewhat sarcastic, tells of a man orphaned at his birth who goes to perform sacrificial rites on the grave of his father. He even cries aloud and carries out punctiliously every ceremony, yet his mind is never at one with the deceased.

For a philosopher, the personal realisation of the ultimate truth is essential. When man is calm and silent, and his mind free from sensual attachment, then only can he deeply contemplate with introspection. He must realise that there is something full and bright. And this something has an existence, which is neither located within the body nor without, and is as full as a 'whole', pure and bright,... neither incomplete nor having any sort of contamination. At this stage there is no discrimination between the external and the internal. A man knows himself, and realises himself. The physical mind involving all its thoughts eventually ceases to function. He is freed from every 'laksana', that of himself, of objects, time, space, names, or ideas, etc. This may be called the 'Revelation of the Self-nature', and corresponds to what has been mentioned by Chwang-tze as 'loosening of bondage' or emancipation ( pp. 2a, 16, 36b-37a, 69 ).

The next thing that draws our attention is perhaps author's criticism of the method of analysis, a method adopted by nearly all the Vijnana-vadins ( Idealists ) ( pp. 34b-35b, 67b-68b. ). He attributes, indeed not without justification, the cause of the theory not having spread far and wide or even having lasted too long in China after the flourishing period during, and shortly after the life-time of Hsuan-Chwang, to the fact of the minute analysis and systematisation. The wonderful 'hair-splitting' classification into eight groups of consciousness ( cittadharma ), fifty-one mental properties ( caitasika ) together with the three divisions to each one of them, serves as one good example. The scholar is usually

caught in a net-work of multifarious terminologies, and can scarcely grasp the main threads, and even if he would, he could hardly find a way out to his great satisfaction. If it is granted that mind is the real entity ( *tattva* ), ...how can it be analysed ? If the mind is the life itself, how can it be merely an aggregation of elements ? ( p. 65a ). And above all, how can analysis, a method that had arisen for the discrimination of material objects, be applied for the identification of the fundamental truth which is prior to material objects ? Analysis only has its merit in bringing to light individual factors up to the infinitesimal degree of the whole, but its demerit lies in its fabrication ( *kalpita* ). It is only through the highest attainment in introspection that the 'wholeness' is realised and the synthetic order of everything in the universe finds its final revelation. Only since then can the individualisation of factors, or rather principles, by means of the analytical method be of any avail.

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But why is this work called the 'new' *Vijnaptimatratat-Sastra*. In what respect is this theory new ? In order to answer this, a few points may be mentioned :

First of all, the conception that the physical material world being unreal in the sense of *parikalpita* ( though he did not mention this name ) is based upon Vasubandhu's *Vimsikakarika* ( p. 3b-13a ) This involves the refutation of the views held by *Tirthakas* and *Hinayanists*. But according to his interpretation, the term 'matratat' should not mean 'alone', rather should it bear the sense of 'special' ( pp 11b, 70a ). Consciousness having the 'special' potentiality or force acting on objects is called *Vijnaptimatratat*, in the sense that it includes also objects without negating their existence ( p. 11b ).

In elucidating this point, the author has made enough references to ancient Chinese philosophy, quoting sayings, e. g. from the 'Doctrine of the Mean', that an union could be affected of the 'external' and 'internal' by perfect virtue ; or quoting Mencius, that 'all things are already complete in us' ; or from

Chen-tze, that 'a man of virtue pervasively indentifies himself with everything'; again from Liu-tze, that 'the Universe is my heart'. And lastly, a passage from the Analects of Wan Yang-Ming, as follows :

"The Master—Wan Yang-Ming—was once going for a walk in the southern village-town. Along the way, one of his friends, pointing to a high flowery tree on the cliffs, asked him : 'If there is nothing outside of my heart in the universe, what has this flowery tree to do with my heart, bearing flowers in the isolated cliffs ?'. And the Master answered :—'Before you have seen these flowers, these flowers and your heart are all sunk in the oblivion. But as soon as you come to see these flowers, their beautiful colours become at once evident. How can you say that these flowers are outside your heart' ?"

These philosophers, had no knowledge of the Vijnana theories, yet the views were the same as those held by ancient Indian masters. But the Indian Mahayanists often indulged in the analysis of empty names-and-forms ( *nama-rupa* ), so much so that a sense of sophism prevailed on their dialectics. Above all, the ultimate truth remains one and the same.

Following in a logical consequence, the next thing is the author's negation of the classification of the mind into eight groups of consciousness. Before Asanga, he says, Vijnana was considered as one of the seemingly real dharmas of the phenomenal world, and was put in the same category as others without having the self-nature. But Vasubandhu established the theory of Consciousness-alone, and consciousness stood supreme as if possessing the nature-in-itself. Since it is taken as arising out of seeds, it must necessarily have its own nature which makes it into a real dharma. Then this theory began to contradict its original conception—what is seemingly real can not be real. Since consciousness is that which transforms, and which gives rise to our cosmos, then our cosmos must be a conglomerate composed of groups of elements ! And the seeds were further classified into two groups : the originally existent and the newly formed,—a theory held by Dharmapala. The mind has its pure

and impure seeds. If the mind were in a state of purity, then it should naturally have been the divine power which is beyond description, how could that be possible of analysis? Within the seemingly real consciousness in the impure state, there are also the original seeds, and then the seemingly real consciousness is recognised as the originally existent mind. And how can these originally existent seeds be different from the originally existent mind? Since the originally existent mind is the original entity which must be real, how can this be identified with the seemingly real consciousness? Dharmapala must have failed to realise the ultimate truth, and relying upon his analytical method, he led himself into perplexities, at least this is the conclusion arrived at by our author.

It must be remarked however, that the author holds the same view in line with the Sung-dynasty philosophers, in fact, with Mencius and other ancient Confucian scholars, on the principle that the original human nature is good. However, he further denies the inexplicable characteristic of being neither good nor evil (avyakṛta). This is the key-note on which the 'new' theory differs from the 'old'.

The third point is the non-establishment of 'causes and concurrent relationships' (hetupratyayah) in its earlier sense. The defect in Dharmapala's theory, as the author points out, is the acknowledging of the existence of the phenomenal world with its capability as its cause and concurrent relationships even after the establishment of the real 'Suchness' (tathata). Should this be an entity by itself, how is it then connected with the entity that is 'Real Suchness'? (p. 37). Without taking causes and concurrent relationships as an explanation for the phenomenal world there is another special point that characterises this new theory (p. 36b). Since the self-nature of the phenomenal world is regarded as being void (sunya), how then can the causes and concurrent relationships be established?

According to Dharmapala, our author says, capability means the seeds (bija). This is where Dharmapala makes his glaring mistake. Furthermore, the idea of 'seeds' corresponds instinctively to the atom (paramanu) theory. This notion is quite

erroneous in the field of metaphysics. Therefore it shows a place of ambiguity. Again, the seeds, being comparable to material seeds, such as rice-seeds etc., cause another ambiguity. That the eighth consciousness ( *alaya-vijnana* ) is described as revolving in a continuous flux without ceasing, hardly distinguishes itself from the soul, is yet another ambiguity.

Still with regard to causes and concurrent relationships, our author has his new modifications, which may serve as another important factor to make this treatise 'new'. Kuei Chi had defined 'cause' as the active principle ( *sanskṛta-dharma* ) which makes out its own effect. If that were the case, then it was meant that the cause 'creates' its own effect, which is another false notion in the field of metaphysics, though it may prove true in the field of physics. Since the theory of 'seeds' is not recognised by him as tenable, this definition of *hetupratyaya* should also be modified thus :—The appearance of consciousness is originally active without exhaustion, and it is only under this condition that causes and concurrent relationships can be admitted ; but, it is not due to the fact that varieties of consciousness are definitely produced that we establish our causes. Consciousness arises ever and anew, one instant after another. Its function depends upon the physical sense-organs, but overmastering them all, is not either their production or by-product. Though it takes objects in concurrent relationship, yet it can not be their product nor by-product, for it exercises the transforming influence over them and is formless, shapeless, fathomless, ever active and never void. For the sake of convenience, we take this active tendency as its character, for it only appears as such without being an individual entity.

Apart from this, the explanations of the other relationships —*Samantarapratyayah*, *Alambanapratyayah* and *Adhipatipratyayah*—remained the same as those given in the old system, with the only difference of obliteration of the division into direct and indirect groups.

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The central idea of the new theory as held by the author lies in the principle of transformation ( *parinama* ). It is the most difficult passage in the whole work. Transformation, he says, arises not out of the constant ( *nityam* ), since that which is constant is unable to transform. It produces not out of voidness ( *sunyata* ), since what is void cannot transform as well. But there is a great thing ( the word 'thing' here must be taken in the most abstract sense ) which may be called a constant flux. It has no cause, it is not produced, but it is the real entity in the universe, and yet does not arise above them as 'the Supreme Being.' It is ever silent and still, without weakening or loss of its power, yet it is not the 'dead voidness' ( *tucchasunyata* ). It is the transformation itself which is absolute, without having its relative effect which we may call as the transformed.

How then does this Transformation take place ? It is ever self-collected and self-developing. The constant flux is not the roaming or floating about without a basis ; it eternally consolidates, forming as if into innumerable moving points—and thus is self-collected. Simultaneously within the self-collection there is ever that force which wins over itself, that is not transformed by the self-collecting force, that tends to overcome it, displaying its absolute powerfulness—and this is self-developement. Both seem to contradict each other in order to make the transformation complete. In self-collection the consolidating tendency inclines towards the formation of substance, and this we metaphorically speak of as *Rupa-dharma* or material element. By self-developement, the most powerful and divine, we metaphorically speak of as the *citta dharma* or mental element. Neither *rupa* nor *citta* does exist as real entity. There is only the transformation in existence.

Great is transformation ! our author says. The moment it arises, it extinguishes. There is nothing that is temporarily existent. In the *Agamas* it is said : Lord Buddha taught—“Ye *Bikshus* ! All actions are illusory, destructible, extinguishable, transient, not staying for one instant ( *ksana* ) !” This is the description of the constant flux. The reasons maintaining this are all based upon *Alankara-sutra-sastra* ( p. 28a-31b. ).

As the author explains it, it is motionless, most vital, and beyond our thoughts and words ( p. 32a-35b. )

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Other places of modification are included in the rearrangement of the fifty-one mental properties. It is the detailed description of the contents of our life in its psychic phenomena, but not a piece of psychology in our modern sense ( p. 79-p. 111 end ). These are classified into four divisions instead of six as in the old system. Including their sub-divisions they are as follows :—

I. Sarvatragah ( in the old system five, now six ) :

- |            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| a. Sparsah | b. Manaskarah |
| c. Vedana  | d. Chandah    |
| e. Samjna  | f. Cetana     |

II. Viniyata ( in the old system five, now six ).

- |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| a. Prajna    | b. Vitarkah  |
| c. Vicara    | d. Vicikitsa |
| e. Adhimoksa | f. Smrti     |

III. Klesa ( in the old system six, now five ) :

- a. Raga—8 groups
- b. Pratighah—3 groups
- c. Moha ( i.e. avidya )
- d. Mana—7 groups
- e. Kudrsti

The Upaklesa Dharma following this in a series, are only 14 in number instead of 20, and they are :

- |                  |               |
|------------------|---------------|
| 1. Krodha        | 2. Upanaha    |
| 3. Pradasa       | 4. Vihimsa    |
| 5. Irsya         | 6. Mraksa     |
| 7. Matsaryam     | 8. Sathyam    |
| 9. Maya          | 10. Ahrikyam  |
| 11. Anapatrapyam | 12. Audhatyam |
| 13. Styanam      | 14. Pramada   |



## IV. Kusala ( in the old system 17, now 7 ) :

- |              |            |
|--------------|------------|
| a. Samapatti | b. Sraddha |
| c. Alobha    | d. Advesa  |
| e. Amoha     | f. Viryam  |
| g. Apramada. |            |

Thus far we may have some faint glimpse of this new system. Throughout the whole work, we find terminologies in the old system turned now into new usages, modifying the originals. For example the term 'rupa'—entity—and 'vrtti'—activity, both terms have been taken in their cosmic sense, or 'sakti'—capability, applied to the universal order, all of which are new implications which Dharmapala never attempted ; or, as again for example, 'matrata' which should mean 'special'.

But there is one important factor in the old system that our author did not very much appreciate, viz. the three-fold self-nature ( parikalpita, paratantra, and parinispanna ), among which the second—paratantra—the nature of relative dependence, constituted the essence of the vijñāna theory, in fact, the whole of the Laksana school. External objects exist only in the sense of this nature, and transformation, no matter how wonderfully it may be described, exists only within this conception. Transformation, as a whole, is never for one instant ( ksana ) separated from that upon which it depends, and vice versa. The eighth store-consciousness is established, for it serves as a common basis upon which all the other seven depend, including itself which again depends upon the original seven. Further the three-fold non-existence of self-nature is also founded on the three-fold existence of self-nature. None of the eminent vijñāna-vadins, from Asanga upto Hsiuan-Chwang and Kwei-Chi, to say nothing of Dharmapala, has failed to emphasize this idea. Since consciousness is understood to be of that nature, it must necessarily trace its origination to the causes and concurrent relationships, unlike the external objects grasped in the sense of parikalpita, which must be devoid of self-nature. There could never have been the ambiguity of eight separate groups individualised without reciprocal relationship.

Furthermore, the theory of 'seeds' in the Siddhi, in fact already established by Sautrantikas in earlier times, and already fully developed in the Mahayana-samparigraha-sastra, seems to be unrefutable. Even for the explanation of 'habits', our author takes 'seeds' into consideration ( p. 78 ). Above all, the nature of man being good or evil is the question that has been disputed in China since the time of Mencius. Shen-tze, another philosopher, thinks it evil, while Yang-tze, another philosopher of the Han Dynasty, thinks it both good and evil. Only in the Vijnana theory do we find the most satisfactory answer, and that is that the eighth consciousness, being without covering, is non-attributive to either goodness or evil ( anivrtavyakṛta ), and therefore, stores up seeds for good and evil, purity and impurity etc., this then finally functions as the 'nature of man'.

Regarding the old theory, perhaps another word may be said. The whole system traces its origin back to the third period of Buddha's teachings, when the Sandhinirmocana etc. were preached. It keeps along the middle path. On one side it refutes those who say that there is every existence, and on the other side, it is against those who hold the non-existence of everything. The main point lies in the distinction of our worldly axioms ( Samvrtisatya ) from the terms of ultimate reality ( Paramārtha ), and all the theories of this system being held in terms of former. Indeed, in terms of ultimate reality, no eight groups can be divided. But by worldly principles, all the minute and detailed analysis and descriptions are useful or even necessary for the seeker after truth, or more exhaustive and comprehensive they are the better for him, until he personally reaches the stage of realization when the words are no longer useful. And our author, who is one of our best authorities on the 'Book of Changes' had never thought the division of eight trigrams with their sixty-four multiplied hexagrams, as being spoilt by system or analysis. And, his criticism on philosophy in general, seems to be somehow unfairly biased on his own conception of philosophy.

In conclusion, we may say that our author has approached the 'Truth' through another channel, forming a 'new' path, with

a tendency for simplifying the old system with all its complexity, thus readily making itself acceptable to the orthodox Chinese mentality. But the main process, the identification of Confucian philosophy within Buddhism, is the task which our author has very successfully achieved.





